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THE WRITINGS

OF

JAMES MONROE

VOLUME VII.

1824–1831

THE WRITINGS

OF

JAMES MONROE

INCLUDING A COLLECTION OF HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED

EDITED BY

STANISLAUS MURRAY HAMILTON

"The Navy is the arm from which our Government will always derive most aid in support of our neutral rights. Every power engaged in war will know the strength of our naval force, the number of our ships of each class, their condition, and the promptitude with which we may bring them into service, and will pay due consideration to that argument."—MONROE.

VOLUME VII.

1824–1831

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OF

JAMES MONROE.

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1824. April 19. The "A. B. Plot." Ninian Edwards's charges against Secretary of the Treasury Crawford.

1824. May 22. Approval of the Tariff Act. By this bill, which passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 125 to 66, the average rate of duty was 37 per cent.

1824. Aug. 15. Arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette in the merchantman *Cadmus* off Staten Island.

1824. Oct. 3. Signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation with Colombia. The Republic of Colombia, established in 1819, was divided in 1831 into three independent republics—New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

1824. Nov. 9. Tenth Presidential election. In the House of Representatives John Quincy Adams received 13 votes, Andrew Jackson 7, and William H. Crawford 4.

1825. Jan. 12. Proclamation of the Treaty with Russia Relative to Navigation, Fishing, and Trading in the Pacific, and to Establishments on the Northwest Coast. The boundary line between the United States and Russian America fixed at 54° 40′ N. Lat.

1825. Feb. 12. Signing of the "Indian Spring Treaty" for the cession by the Creeks of all their territory in Georgia and several millions of acres in Alabama for $400,000.00.

1825. March 3. Approval of Act of Incorporation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. $150,000.00 appropriated to extend the Cumberland road from Canton to Zanesville, Ohio.

1825. March 4. Inauguration of John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States.

1826. July 4. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

1826. Elected a visitor of the University of Virginia.

1829. Member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention.

1830. Death of Mrs. Monroe.

1831. July 4. Death of James Monroe at 3 P.M. at the residence in New York of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur. In 1858, on the centennial of his birth, his remains were reinterred with impressive civic and military demonstrations at Richmond, Virginia.

THE WRITINGS OF

JAMES MONROE.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

WASHINGTON, Jany 12, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last we have receiv'd no communication from Mr Rush, on the subject of Mr Cannings proposition. From our Chargé des Affrs in France a letter has been recently recd[1] by which it appears that the British Ambassador there, had intimated to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the desire & expectation of his govt, that no measure should be decided on, by the Allied powers, without a consultation with the govt of the U States, & to which a reply was given, that none would be adopted, without a due consultation, which Mr Sheldon understood, as excluding us from any congress or other meeting that might take place between them with a view to that object. The fact, however, that the British govt has made such an intimation, being in accord, with a suggestion of Mr Canning, to Mr Rush, tends to strengthen the presumption that that govt,

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[1] Mr. Sheldon's letter, of October 30th, to Mr. Adams. Vol. vi., page 397.

will oppose any measures having for their object the subjugation of the new govts to the South. We may daily expect farther intelligence on the subject, which I will communicate to you as soon as receiv'd.

I shall forward you the views of Mr O'Flaherty & Col: Roane, by communicating to you the enclosed papers, by which it appears, that the former seeks employment in our University, & that the latter thinks highly of his qualifications, especially of his knowledge of the Antient languages.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, Jany 26, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have been so much pressed by various duties since the meeting of Congress that I have scarcely had a moment for my friends. The body increases and the number of new members has added its share to my burden.

The only material fact that has come to our knowledge since my last to you relating to the views of the allied powers on So. Am. amounts to this, that the presumption that they would make no attempt in favor of Spain for their subjugation of the new governments has acquired strength. Mr. Sheldon thinks that the attitude assumed by England and that which is anticipated on the part of the U. States will have a decisive offset in preventing it. We have heard nothing respecting it from any other quarter.

I have conferred with General Jackson respecting the communications between the former Secry. of

War & him at the period to which your notes refer & am assured that he will afford me every detail'd & authentic information on the subject which you desire. His feelings toward you are of the most friendly character.

TO CONGRESS—NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1824.

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 15th of December last, requesting the President of the United States "to communicate a plan for a peace establishment of the Navy of the United States," I herewith transmit a report from the Secretary of the Navy, which contains the plan required.

In presenting this plan to the consideration of Congress, I avail myself of the occasion to make some remarks on it which the importance of the subject requires and experience justifies.

If a system of universal and permanent peace could be established, or if in war the belligerent parties would respect the rights of neutral powers, we should have no occasion for a navy or an army. The expense and dangers of such establishments might be avoided. The history of all ages proves that this cannot be presumed; on the contrary, that at least one-half of every century, in ancient as well as modern times, has been consumed in wars, and often of the most general and desolating character. Nor is there any cause to infer, if we examine the condition of the nations with which we have the most intercourse and strongest political relations, that we shall in future be exempt from that calamity within any period to which a rational calculation may be extended. And as to the rights of neutral powers, it is sufficient to appeal to our own experience to demonstrate how little regard will be paid to them whenever they come in conflict with the interests of the powers at war while we rely on the justice of our cause and

on argument alone. The amount of the property of our fellow-citizens which was seized and confiscated or destroyed by the belligerent parties in the wars of the French Revolution, and of those which followed before we became a party to the war, is almost incalculable.

The whole movement of our Government from the establishment of our independence has been guided by a sacred regard for peace. Situated as we are in the new hemisphere, distant from Europe and unconnected with its affairs, blessed with the happiest Government on earth, and having no objects of ambition to gratify, the United States have steadily cultivated the relations of amity with every power; and if in any European wars a respect for our rights might be relied on, it was undoubtedly in those to which I have adverted. The conflict being vital, the force being nearly equally balanced, and the result uncertain, each party had the strongest motives of interest to cultivate our good will, lest we might be thrown into the opposite scale. Powerful as this consideration usually is, it was nevertheless utterly disregarded in almost every stage of and by every party to those wars. To these encroachments and injuries our regard for peace was finally forced to yield.

In the war to which at length we became a party our whole coast from the St. Croix to the Mississippi was either invaded or menaced by invasion, and in many parts with a strong imposing force both land and naval. In those parts where the population was most dense the pressure was comparatively light, but there was scarcely an harbor or city on any of our great inlets which could be considered secure. New York and Philadelphia were eminently exposed, the then existing works not being sufficient for their protection. The same remark is applicable in a certain extent to the cities eastward of the former, and as to the condition of the whole country southward of the latter the events which mark the war are too recent to require detail. Our armies and Navy signalized themselves in every quarter where they had occasion to meet their gallant foe, and the militia voluntarily flew to their aid with a patriotism and fought with a bravery which exalted the reputation of their Government and country and which did them the highest honor. In whatever direction the enemy chose to move with their

squadrons and to land their troops our fortifications, where any existed, presented but little obstacle to them. They passed those works without difficulty. Their squadrons, in fact, annoyed our whole coast, not of the sea only, but of every bay and great river throughout its whole extent. In entering those inlets and sailing up them with a small force the effect was disastrous, since it never failed to draw out the whole population on each side and to keep it in the field while the squadron remained there. The expense attending this species of defense, with the exposure of the inhabitants and the waste of property, may readily be conceived.

The occurrences which preceded the war and those which attended it were alike replete with useful instruction as to our future policy. Those which marked the first epoch demonstrate clearly that in the wars of other powers we can rely only on force for the protection of our neutral rights. Those of the second demonstrate with equal certainty that in any war in which we may be engaged hereafter with a strong naval power the expense, waste, and other calamities attending it, considering the vast extent of our maritime frontier, can not fail, unless it be defended by adequate fortifications and a suitable naval force, to correspond with those which were experienced in the late war. Two great objects are therefore to be regarded in the establishment of an adequate naval force: The first, to prevent war so far as it may be practicable: the second, to diminish its calamities when it may be inevitable. Hence the subject of defense becomes intimately connected in all its parts in war and in peace, for the land and at sea. No government will be disposed in its wars with other powers to violate our rights if it knows we have the means, are prepared and resolved to defend them. The motive will also be diminished if it knows that our defenses by land are so well planned and executed that an invasion of our coast can not be productive of the evils to which we have heretofore been exposed.

It was under a thorough conviction of these truths, derived from the admonitions of the late war, that Congress, as early as the year 1816, during the term of my enlightened and virtuous predecessor, under whom the war had been declared, prosecuted, and terminated, digested and made provision for the defense of

our country and support of its rights, in peace as well as in war, by acts which authorized and enjoined the augmentation of our Navy to a prescribed limit, and the construction of suitable fortifications throughout the whole extent of our maritime frontier and wherever else they might be deemed necessary. It is to the execution of these works, both land and naval, and under a thorough conviction that by hastening their completion I should render the best service to my country and give the most effectual support to our free republican system of government that my humble faculties would admit of, that I have devoted so much of my time and labor to this great system of national policy since I came into this office, and shall continue to do it until my retirement from it at the end of your next session.

The Navy is the arm from which our Government will always derive most aid in support of our neutral rights. Every power engaged in war will know the strength of our naval force, the number of our ships of each class, their condition, and the promptitude with which we may bring them into service, and will pay due consideration to that argument. Justice will always have great weight in the cabinets of Europe; but in long and destructive wars exigencies often occur which press so vitally on them that unless the argument of force is brought to its aid it will be disregarded. Our land forces will always perform their duty in the event of war, but they must perform it on land. Our Navy is the arm which must be principally relied on for the annoyance of the commerce of the enemy and for the protection of our own, and also, by co-operation with the land forces, for the defense of the country. Capable of moving in any and every direction, it possesses the faculty, even when remote from our coast, of extending its aid to every interest on which the security and welfare of our Union depend. Annoying the commerce of the enemy and menacing in turn its coast, provided the force on each side is nearly equally balanced, it will draw its squadrons from our own; and in case of invasion by a powerful adversary by land and naval force, which is always to be anticipated and ought to be provided against, our Navy, may, by like cooperation with our land forces, render essential aid in protecting our interior from incursion and depredation.

The great object in the event of war is to stop the enemy at the coast. If this is done our cities and whole interior will be secure. For the accomplishment of this object our fortifications must be principally relied on. By placing strong works near the mouths of our great inlets in such positions as to command the entrances into them, as may be done in many instances, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for ships to pass them, especially if other precautions, and particularly that of steam batteries, are resorted to in their aid. In the wars between other powers into which we may be drawn in support of our neutral rights it can not be doubted that this defense would be adequate to the purpose intended by it, nor can it be doubted that the knowledge that such works existed would form a strong motive with any power not to invade our rights, and thereby contribute essentially to prevent war. There are, it is admitted, some entrances into our interior which are of such vast extent that it would be utterly impossible for any works, however extensive or well posted, to command them. Of this class the Chesapeake Bay, which is an arm of the sea, may be given as an example. But, in my judgment, even this bay may be defended against any power with whom we may be involved in war as a third party in the defense of our neutral rights. By erecting strong works at the mouth of James River, on both sides, near the capes, as we are now doing, and at Old Point Comfort and the Rip Raps, and connecting those works together by chains whenever the enemy's force appeared, placing in the rear some large ships and steam batteries, the passage up the river would be rendered impracticable. This guard would also tend to protect the whole country bordering on the bay and rivers emptying into it, as the hazard would be too great for the enemy, however strong his naval force, to ascend the bay and leave such a naval force behind; since, in the event of a storm, whereby his vessels might be separated, or of a calm, the ships and steam batteries behind the works might rush forth and destroy them. It could only be in the event of an invasion by a great power or a combination of several powers, and by land as well as by naval forces, that those works could be carried; and even then they could not fail to retard the movement of the enemy into the country and to give time for the

collection of our regular troops, militia, and volunteers to that point, and thereby contribute essentially to his ultimate defeat and expulsion from our territory.

Under a strong impression that a peace establishment of our Navy is connected with the possible event of war, and that the naval force intended for either state, however small it may be, is connected with the general system of public defense, I have thought it proper in communicating this report to submit these remarks on the whole subject.

TO CONGRESS — MASSACHUSETTS' CLAIM FOR MILITARY COMPENSATION.

. . . . . .

[1] It affords me great pleasure to state that the present executive of Massachusetts has disclaimed the principle which was maintained by the former executive, and that in this disclaimer both branches of the legislature have concurred. By this renunciation the State is placed on the same ground in this respect with the other States, and this very distressing anomaly in our system is removed. It is well known that the great body of our fellow-citizens in Massachusetts are as firmly devoted to our Union and to the free republican principles of our Government as our fellow-citizens of the other States. Of this important truth their conduct in every stage of our Revolutionary struggle and in many other emergencies bears ample testimony; and I add with profound interest and a thorough conviction that, although the difficulty adverted to in the late war with their executive excited equal surprise and regret, it was not believed to extend to them. There never was a moment when the confidence of the Government in the great body of our fellow-citizens of that State was

[1] From Special Message of February 24, 1824, submitting to the consideration of Congress the claim of a portion of the Massachusetts Militia to compensation for services in the War of 1812. The former Governor of Massachusetts had maintained that the Federal power to call out the militia of a State was conditional upon the consent of its Executive, and that when called out they could not be placed under the command of an officer of the Regular Army.

impaired, nor is a doubt entertained that they were at all times willing and ready to support their rights and repel an invasion by the enemy.

The commissioners of Massachusetts have urged, in compliance with their instructions, the payment of so much of their claim as applies to the services rendered by the fifth division, which have been audited, and I should have no hesitation in admitting it if I did not think, under all the circumstances of the case, that the claim in all its parts was cognizable by Congress alone. The period at which the constitutional difficulty was raised by the executive of the State was in the highest degree important, as was the tendency of the principle for which it contended, and which was adhered to during the war. The public mind throughout the Union was much excited by that occurrence, and great solicitude was felt as to its consequences. The Executive of the United States was bound to maintain, and did maintain, a just construction of the Constitution, in doing which it is gratifying to recollect that the most friendly feelings were cherished toward their brethren of that State. The executive of the State was warned, in the correspondence which then took place, of the light in which its conduct was viewed and of the effect it would have, so far as related to the right of the Executive of the United States, on any claim which might afterwards be presented by the State to compensation for such services. Under these circumstances the power of the Executive of the United States to settle any portion of this claim seems to be precluded. It seems proper, also, that this claim should be decided on full investigation before the public, that the principle on which it is decided may be thoroughly understood by our fellow-citizens of every State, which can be done by Congress alone, who alone, also, possess the power to pass laws which may be necessary to carry such decision into effect.

In submitting this subject to the calm and enlightened judgment of Congress, I do it with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that you are now placed, by the course of events, in a situation which will enable you to adopt such measures as will not only comport with the sound principles of our Government, but likewise be conducive to other the highest interests of our

Union. By the renunciation of the principle maintained by the then executive of Massachusetts, as has been done by its present executive and both branches of the legislature in the most formal manner and in accord with the sentiments of the great body of the people, the Constitution is restored in a very important feature (that connected with the public defense) and in the most important branch (that of the militia) to its native strength. It is very gratifying to know that this renunciation has been produced by the regular, orderly, and pacific operation of our republican system, whereby those who were in the right at the moment of difficulty and who sustained the Government with great firmness have daily gained strength until this result was accomplished. The points on which you will have to decide are, What is fairly due for the services which were actually rendered? By what means shall we contribute most to cement the Union and give the greatest support to our most excellent Constitution? In seeking each object separately we are led to the same result. All that can be claimed by our fellow-citizens of Massachusetts is that the constitutional objection be waived, and that they be placed on the same footing with their brethren in the other States; that regarding the services rendered by the militia of other States, for which compensation has been made, giving to the rule the most liberal construction, like compensation to be made for similar services rendered by the militia of that State.

I have been led to conclude on great consideration that the principles of justice as well as a due regard for the great interests of our Union require that this claim in the extent proposed should be acceded to. Essential service was rendered in the late war by the militia of Massachusetts, and with the most patriotic motives. It seems just, therefore, that they should be compensated for such services in like manner with the militia of the other States. The constitutional difficulty did not originate with them, and has now been removed. It comports with our system to look to the service rendered and to the intention with which it was rendered, and to award the compensation accordingly, especially as it may now be done without the sacrifice of principle. The motive in this instance is the stronger because well satisfied I am that by so doing we shall give the most effectual support to our republican

institutions. No latent cause of discontent will be left behind. The great body of the people will be gratified, and even those who now survive who were then in error can not fail to see with interest and satisfaction this distressing occurrence thus happily terminated. I therefore consider it my duty to recommend it to Congress to make provision for the settlement of the claim of Massachusetts for services rendered in the late war by the militia of the State, in conformity with the rules which have governed in the settlement of the claims for services rendered by the militia of the other States.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, March 22d 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Such has been the pressure on me of late, that I have not had a moment, to pay attention or even answer the calls of my friends. I have felt that I had fail'd, both to you, and to Mr. Madison. There have been several candidates, under me, in the admn, for the office which I hold, and such the activity & animosity of their respective advocates & friends, towards the rival candidates, that my situation has been peculiarly embarrasing. In the appointment to office, I have been forc'd either to distribute the offices among the friends of the candidates, to guard myself against the imputation of favoritism, or to take my own course, and appoint those whom I knew & confided in, without regard to them. Had I pursued the former, the office in my hands, for two or three years of the latter term, would have sunk to nothing. I therefore adopted the latter, and have steadily pursued it, believing that I had given sufficient proof of respect for, and confidence in each of the members, of

the administration, by appointing & continuing him in his place.

From Europe we have nothing of late to vary the view which is exhibited to the public in the Gazettes.

Dr Foushee still lives. Governor Preston had applied for the post office at Richmond, & I had some years since given him some hope of obtaining it should a vacancy occur while I am here; but my earnest hope is that matters may take such a shape, as to enable me to meet your wishes, in regard to Col: Peyton before my retirement.

My particular motive is, to state to you a communication which was lately made to me by Mr Livingston. He assur'd me, that it was an object of deep interest to him, to know that you entertain'd no unkind feelings towards him—that he earnestly wished to be restor'd to the footing which he held in your estimation some 25 years since. I told him, that I was satisfied the intimation of that sentiment, on his part, would be gratifying to you. If you are willing that I should say any thing to him on the subject, trace what it shall be, and I shall be happy to be the organ.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to inform you that the Senate has confirmed the nomination of Mr. Conway, to a land office in Alabama, as valuable in point of profit, as I am assured, tho' not that, for which you recommended him. Of this be so good as to inform Mr. Callet Conway your neighbour.

The vacancy at Petersbg. gave me great embarrassment as to the person to be selected for it. Dr. Field had strong claims, as had several others within the town, & in the adjoining country. Among the friends of the candidates those here became much excited against each other, especially those who favored Dr. Field, Mr. Meade & Mr. Horton, and those who favored Mr. Barbour, whose son is in the House of Repˢ. The pressure was painful to me. At length I decided in favor of one who held distinct ground, but whose standing is I presume such as to sustain me in the measure. I nominated James Robertson, who is the present Register of the Land Office at Richmond.

I learn from Mr. Cabell, who is here, that you will have a meeting of the trustees of the University in about 10 days, & that the appointment of professors for the Institution will form one of the objects for consideration. The death of the professor of chemistry at West Point making it necessary to supply his place lately, many persons were strongly recommended, and among them Dr. Percival & Dr. Torney. The recommendations in favor of these two were so strong and equal that it was difficult to decide between them. Percival was appointed more from the necessity of making a decision than the superiority of pretention. I mention this fact that, in case no person known to possess distinguished talents shoᵈ offer, or occur, that you may know of the merits of this gentleman. I never saw him, nor does he know that I give this information respecting him. I shall hand to Mr. Cabell

the papers forwarded to the Dept. by the Academic staff.

We have nothing from abroad more interesting than what the papers exhibit. Several letters to me from Gen! La Fayette intimate that the message excited a feeling with the Bourbons, & others generally, but was well received by the friends of liberty, in France, & elsewhere.[1] Our best regards to Mrs. Madison.

TO CONGRESS—REMOVAL OF INDIANS.

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1824.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

I transmit to Congress certain papers enumerated in a report from the Secretary of War, relating to the compact between the United States and the State of Georgia entered into in 1802, whereby the latter ceded to the former a portion of the territory then within its limits on the conditions therein specified. By the fourth article of that compact it was stipulated that the United States should at their own expense extinguish for the use of Georgia the Indian title to all the lands within the State as soon as it might be done *peaceably* and on *reasonable* conditions. These papers show the measures adopted by the Executive of the United States in fulfilment of the several conditions of the compact from its date to the present time, and particularly the negotiations and treaties with the Indian tribes for the extinguishment of their title, with an estimate of the number of acres purchased and sums paid for lands they acquired. They show also the state in which this interesting concern now rests with the Cherokees, one of the tribes within the State, and the inability of the Executive to make any further movement with this tribe without the special sanction of Congress.

[1] "I am delighted with your message," Lafayette wrote, "and so will be every liberal mind in Europe and South America."

I have full confidence that my predecessors exerted their best endeavors to execute this compact in all its parts, of which, indeed, the sums paid and the lands acquired during their respective terms in fulfillment of its several stipulations are a full proof. I have also been animated since I came into this office with the same zeal, from an anxious desire to meet the wishes of the State, and in the hope that by the establishment of these tribes beyond the Mississippi their improvement in civilization, their security and happiness would be promoted. By the paper bearing date on the 30th of January last, which was communicated to the chiefs of the Cherokee Nation in this city, who came to protest against any further appropriations of money for holding treaties with them, the obligation imposed on the United States by the compact with Georgia to extinguish the Indian title to the right of soil within the State, and the incompatibility with our system of their existence as a distinct community within any State, were pressed with the utmost earnestness. It was proposed to them at the same time to procure and convey to them territory beyond the Mississippi in exchange for that which they hold within the limits of Georgia, or to pay them for it its value in money. To this proposal their answer, which bears date 11th of February following, gives an unqualified refusal. By this it is manifest that at the present time and in their present temper they can be removed only by force, to which, should it be deemed proper, the power of the Executive is incompetent.

I have no hesitation, however, to declare it as my opinion that the Indian title was not affected in the slightest circumstance by the compact with Georgia, and that there is no obligation on the United States to remove the Indians by force. The express stipulation of the compact that their title should be extinquished at the expense of the United States when it may be done *peaceably* and on *reasonable* conditions is a full proof that it was the clear and distinct understanding of both parties to it that the Indians had a right to the territory, in the disposal of which they were to be regarded as free agents. An attempt to remove them by force would, in my opinion, be unjust. In the future measures to be adopted in regard to the Indians within our limits, and, in consequence, within the limits of any State,

the United States have duties to perform and a character to sustain to which they ought not to be indifferent. At an early period their improvement in the arts of civilized life was made an object with the Government, and that has since been persevered in. This policy was dictated by motives of humanity to the aborigines of the country, and under a firm conviction that the right to adopt and pursue it was equally applicable to all the tribes within our limits.

My impression is equally strong that it would promote essentially the security and happiness of the tribes within our limits if they could be prevailed on to retire west and north of our States and Territories on lands to be procured for them by the United States, in exchange for those on which they now reside. Surrounded as they are, and pressed as they will be, on every side by the white population, it will be difficult if not impossible for them, with their kind of government, to sustain order among them. Their interior will be exposed to frequent disturbances, to remedy which the interposition of the United States will be indispensable, and thus their government will gradually lose its authority until it is annihilated. In this process the moral character of the tribes will also be lost, since the change will be too rapid to admit their improvement in civilization to enable them to institute and sustain a government founded on our principles, if such a change were compatible either with the compact with Georgia or with our general system, or to become members of a State, should any State be willing to adopt them in such numbers, regarding the good order, peace, and tranquillity of such State. But all these evils may be avoided if these tribes will consent to remove beyond the limits of our present States and Territories. Lands equally good, and perhaps more fertile, may be procured for them in those quarters. The relations between the United States and such Indians would still be the same.

Considerations of humanity and benevolence, which have now great weight, would operate in that event with an augmented force, since we should feel sensibly the obligation imposed on us by the accommodation which they thereby afforded us. Placed at ease, as the United States would then be, the improvement

of those tribes in civilization and in all the arts and usages of civilized life would become the part of a general system which might be adopted on great consideration, and in which every portion of our Union would then take an equal interest. These views have steadily been pursued by the Executive, and the moneys which have been placed at its disposal have been so applied in the manner best calculated, according to its judgment, to produce this desirable result, as will appear by the documents which accompany the report of the Secretary of War.

I submit this subject to the consideration of Congress under a high sense of its importance and of the propriety of an early decision on it. This compact gives a claim to the State which ought to be executed in all its conditions with perfect good faith. In doing this, however, it is the duty of the United States to regard its strict import, and to make no sacrifice of their interest not called for by the compact nor contemplated by either of the parties when it was entered into, nor to commit any breach of right or of humanity in regard to the Indians repugnant to the judgment and revolting to the feelings of the whole American people. I submit the subject to your consideration, in full confidence that you will duly weigh the obligations of the compact with Georgia, its import in all its parts, and the extent to which the United States are bound to go under it. I submit it with equal confidence that you will also weigh the nature of the Indian title to the territory within the limits of any State, with the stipulations in the several treaties with this tribe respecting territory held by it within the State of Georgia, and decide whether any measure on the part of Congress is called for at the present time, and what such measure shall be if any is deemed expedient.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON April — 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Livingston intimated to me some time since his desire to hold with you and Mr. Jefferson the same relation which he held in 1798, & that

I would communicate that sentiment to you on his part, & apprize him of the result.

I think that I informed you that Mr. Conway had been appointed to a land office in Alabama.

Having communicated to Mr. Jefferson the views taken in the adm^{n}, respecting the claim of Virg^{a} to the payment of the interest, paid by her for monies borrowed & paid to the militia in the late war, I add nothing on that subject in this to you as you will be together. To my letter to him also I refer you for information respecting a movement of the Georgia members towards the Executive, in regard to its conduct, in execution of the 4th art: of the compact entered into in 1802 whereby the U States bound themselves to extinguish the Indian right to limits of that State. You will I think be astonished when you see their letter. Such an one I never received either in my public or private character. I deemed it proper to communicate it, with other documents, to Congress, in a late message on the subject of the compact generally, but without specially noticing the letter. I gave them an opportunity, through Mr. Crawford, who was ignorant of the proceeding, to withdraw it, which they refused.

I sent to Mr. Jefferson a copy of the message respecting the Massachusetts claim, I shall forward one to you in Orange by the next mail. It is my opinion that the Southern members ought to take the lead in sustaining it, being thoroughly satisfied that it will not only give a strong & powerful support to the Republican party in that & all the

Eastern States, but contribute much to the support of our Constitution. If our Southern people will act with magnanimity on the occasion, it will render any further attempts by artful traders to annoy us on the principle of slave population, as in the Missouri question, vain and abortive.

Mr. Cabell is well acquainted with the state of affrs here, & to him I refer you for further details,

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TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON April — 1824.

DEAR SIR,—The claim of the State, for the allowance of interest, on monies borrowed & applied to the payment of the militia in the late war, has been consider'd by the administration, in a full meeting, at the instance of the Senators, & of Mr. Cabell, & the result has been, that the allowance, could not be made by the Executive, the uniform decision in such cases, having been against it. The claim will be brought before Congress, and either by one, or the members, as may be deem'd most adviseable. If presented by one, as there are many states having similar claims, it is thought that I should, take it up on general principles, applicable to all, & it was urg'd in the admn & apparently acquiesced in, that if a State had money in hand, as was the case with Maryland, & paid it to the militia as called for, that the State is entitled to interest, on the principles of justice, in equal degree, as if she had borrowed the money, & paid the interest on it. It was urg'd that

if there was anything peculiar, in the circumstances, of the claim of Virg[a] more favorable, than of the other States, it might be urg'd with greater advantage, if brought forward, by the members, than by one. I shall make myself master of the subject, and take any course safe & proper in itself, which may be most agreeable to our members, & in accord with the views of the Adm[n]. Should you have form'd any opinion on this head, it will give me pleasure to be made acquainted with it. My solicitude is the greater, from the reliance on this fund, in aid of our University, on which the State, & indeed our whole system of gov[t], so essentially depend.

You are acquainted with all the circumstances, relating to the compact with Georgia, enter'd into in 1802, for the extinguishment of the Indian title to land, within the State, on the condition specified. During your term, & that of M[r] Madison, much land was acquir'd, as there has been since I held this office. I was also going on, to press the object, with much zeal, & as I thought in harmony, with the delegation from the State, looking to the claims of humanity as well as of right on the part of the Indians, when on an earnest remonstrance from a deputation of the Cherokee nation here, against farther cessions or appropriations of money to obtain cessions, which was communicated to the members from the State, they addressed to me a letter replete with the most bitter reproaches, expressed in the harshest language, against the conduct of the Executive in the execution of that article of the compact, from its date. I take

this however to myself, for whom it was I presume principally intended. Being satisfied that Mr. Crawford knew nothing of the measure, I communicated the papers to him, with an intimation that if the members asked to withdraw their paper, I would permit it. He disapprov'd their conduct, intimated through one, to the others, his wish that they would withdraw it. They met, & decided that they would not withdraw it, nor communicate with him on the subject. Finding it necessary to bring the wishes of the State before Congress, I sent in this paper, with others, with a message, some few days since. I will forward to you a copy of the message & documents as soon as printed.

I send you a copy of the message & documents relating to the Massachusetts claim, for militia services in the late war. On the great consideration of the subject, & communication with the most enlightened of the republicans of that section, I was satisfied, that the measure, especially should it be supported, by the republicans to the South wo^d give great aid to the republican party, to the Eastward, & in consequence to our system of gov^t.

TO W. H. CRAWFORD.

May 17, 1824.

Dear Sir,—I have seen Mr. Wirt and conferred with him on the subject of the slaves who were taken to the Creek agency during the agency of Gen^l Mitchell, and respecting also the documents, which

were forwarded to the Dep^t^ of State by Gov^r^ Clark, criminating General Mitchell's conduct in that affair, & find that I decided to communicate those documents to Congress, for the reason that as the charges were of a serious nature, it was thought proper to institute an immediate & strict enquiry into his conduct, pending which, such communication might have been construed into a decision against him. This enquiry, as you know, terminated in his dismission. It is proper to add that these documents were not rec^d^ until after your report, in compliance with the call of Dec^r^ 1819, had already been sent in, &, being addressed to the Dep^t^ of State, was not within the call on y^r^ Dep^t^

Understanding your enquiry in our interview to have applied solely to the documents rec^d^ from Gov^r^ Clark, I have not extended any research farther.

TO THE SENATE—SLAVE TRADE CONVENTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1824.

To the Senate of the United States:

Apprehending from the delay in the decision that some difficulty exists with the Senate respecting the ratification of the convention lately concluded with the British Government for the suppression of the slave trade by making it piratical, I deem it proper to communicate for your consideration such views as appear to me to merit attention. Charged as the Executive is, and as I have long been, with maintaining the political relations between the United States and other nations, I consider it my duty, in submitting for your advice and consent as to the ratification any treaty or convention which has been agreed on with another power, to explain, when the occasion requires it, all the

reasons which induced the measure. It is by such full and frank explanation only that the Senate can be enabled to discharge the high trust reposed in them with advantage to their country. Having the instrument before them, with the views which guided the Executive in forming it, the Senate will possess all the light necessary to a sound decision.

By an act of Congress of 15th of May, 1820, the slave trade, as described by that act, was made piratical, and all such of our citizens as might be found engaged in that trade were subjected, on conviction thereof by the circuit courts of the United States, to capital punishment. To communicate more distinctly the import of that act, I refer to its fourth and fifth sections, which are in the following words:

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned in the whole or part or navigated for or in behalf of any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring or carry, or shall receive, such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction thereof before the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein he may be brought or found shall suffer death.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned wholly or in part, or navigated for or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall forcibly confine or detain, or aid and abet in forcibly confining or detaining, on board such ship or vessel any negro or mulatto not held to service by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall on board

any such ship or vessel offer or attempt to sell as a slave any negro or mulatto not held to service as aforesaid, or shall on the high seas or anywhere on tide water transfer or deliver over to any other ship or vessel any negro or mulatto not held to service as aforesaid, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall land or deliver on shore from on board any such ship or vessel any such negro or mulatto, with intent to make sale of, or having previously sold such negro or mulatto as a slave, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction thereof before the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein he may be brought or found shall suffer death."

And on the 28th February, 1823, the House of Representatives, by a majority of 131 to 9, passed a resolution to the following effect:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon and prosecute from time to time such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

By the act of Congress referred to, whereby the most effectual means that could be devised were adopted for the extirpation of the slave trade, the wish of the United States was explicitly declared, that all nations might concur in a similar polity. It could only be by such concurrence that the great object could be accomplished, and it was by negotiation and treaty alone that such concurrence could be obtained, commencing with one power and extending it to others. The course, therefore, which the Executive, who had concurred in the act, had to pursue was distinctly marked out for it. Had there, however, been any doubt respecting it, the resolution of the House of Representatives, the branch which might with strict propriety express its opinion, could not fail to have removed it.

By the tenth article of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, concluded at Ghent, it was stipulated that both parties should use their best endeavors to accomplish the abolition of the African slave trade. This object has been accordingly pursued by both Governments with great earnestness,

by separate acts of legislation, and by negotiation almost uninterrupted, with the purpose of establishing a concert between them in some measure which might secure its accomplishment.

Great Britain in her negotiations with other powers had concluded treaties with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, in which, without constituting the crime as piracy or classing it with crimes of that denomination, the parties had conceded to the naval officers of each other the right of search and capture of the vessels of either that might be engaged in the slave trade, and had instituted courts consisting of judges, subjects of both parties, for the trial of the vessels so captured.

In the negotiations with the United States Great Britain had earnestly and repeatedly pressed on them the adoption of similar provisions. They had been resisted by the Executive on two grounds: One, that the constitution of mixed tribunals was incompatible with their Constitution; and the other, that the concession of the right of search in time of peace for an offense not piratical would be repugnant to the feelings of the nation and a dangerous tendency. The right of search is the right of war of the belligerent toward the neutral. To extend it in time of peace to any object whatever might establish a precedent which might lead to others with some powers, and which, even if confined to the instance specified, might be subject to great abuse.

Animated by an ardent desire to suppress this trade, the United States took stronger ground by making it, by the act above referred to, piratical, a measure more adequate to the end and free from many of the objects applicable to the plan which had been proposed to them. It is this alternative which the Executive, under the sanction and injunctions above stated, offered to the British Government, and which that government has accepted. By making the crime piracy the right of search attaches to the crime, and which when adopted by all nations will be common to all; and that it will be so adopted may fairly be presumed if steadily persevered in by the parties to the present convention. In the meantime, and with a view to a fair experiment, the obvious course seems to be to carry into effect with every power such treaty as may be made with each in succession.

In presenting this alternative to the British Government it was

made an indispensable condition that the trade should be made piratical by act of Parliament, as it had been by an act of Congress. This was provided for in the convention, and has since been complied with. In this respect, therefore, the nations rest on the same ground. Suitable provisions have also been adopted to protect each party from abuse of the power granted to the public ships of the other. Instead of subjecting the persons detected in the slave to trial by the courts of the captors, as would be the case if such trade was piracy by the laws of nations, it is stipulated that until that event they shall be tried by the courts of their own country only. Hence there could be no motive for an abuse of the right of search, since such abuse could not fail to terminate to the injury of the captor.

Should this convention be adopted, there is every reason to believe that it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire abolition of the slave trade. Great Britain, by making it her own, confessedly adopted at the suggestion of the United States, and being pledged to propose and urge its adoption by other nations in concert with the United States, will find it for her interest to abandon the less-effective system of her previous treaties with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, and to urge on those and other powers their accession to this. The crime will then be universally proscribed as piracy, and the traffic be suppressed forever.

Other considerations of high importance urge the adoption of this convention. We have at this moment pending with Great Britain sundry other negotiations intimately connected with the welfare and even the peace of our Union. In one of them nearly a third part of the territory of the State of Maine is in contestation. In another the navigation of the St. Lawrence, the admission of consuls into the British islands, and a system of commercial intercourse between the United States and all the British possessions in this hemisphere are subjects of discussion. In a third our territorial and other rights upon the northwest coast are to be adjusted, while a negotiation on the same interest is opened with Russia. In a fourth all the most important controvertible points of maritime law in time of war are brought under consideration, and in the fifth the whole system of South American concerns

connected with a general recognition of South American independence, may again from hour to hour become, as it has already been, an object of concerted operations of the highest interest to both nations and to the peace of the world.

It can not be disguised that the rejection of this convention can not fail to have a very injurious influence on the good understanding between the two Governments on these points. That it would place the Executive Administration under embarrassment, and subject it, the Congress, and the nation to the charge of insincerity respecting the great result of the final suppression of the slave trade, and that its first and indispensable consequence will be to constrain the Executive to suspend all further negotiation with every European and American power to which overtures have been made in compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of 28th February, 1823, must be obvious. To invite all nations, with the statute of piracy in our hands, to adopt its principles as the law of nations and yet to deny to all the common right of search for the pirate, whom it would impossible to detect without entering and searching the vessel, would expose us not simply to the charge of inconsistency.

It must be obvious that the restriction of search for pirates to the African coast is incompatible with the idea of such a crime. It is not doubted also if the convention is adopted that no example of the commission of that crime by the citizens or subjects of either power will ever occur again. It is believed, therefore, that this right as applicable to piracy would not only extirpate the trade, but prove altogether innocent in its operation.

In further illustration of the views of Congress on this subject, I transmit to the Senate extracts from two resolutions of the House of Representatives, one of 9th February, 1821, the other of 12th April, 1822. I transmit also a letter from the charge d'affaires of the British Government which shows the deep interest which the Government takes in the ratification of the treaty.[1]

[1] This Treaty, embodying the administration's efforts for the suppression of the African slave trade, signed at London, March 13, 1824, was not ratified. Mr. Adams records the President's solicitude for its fate and gives details regarding this message and the proceedings in the Senate on the Treaty.—*Memoirs*, VI., 344, *et seq.*

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON July 12th 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your favor of the second instant, with one enclosed from Mr. Duane, & should be glad for the reasons stated in yours, & the interest you take in his behalf, to place him in some situation, which might afford a subsistence to him and his family. His abuse of me for 4. or 5. years is disregarded; his real standing however, in the community must be attended to, & that is such, as would expose me to censure if he should be plac'd in any trust of a marked character. His late claim before Congress I aided, and I caused it then to be made known to him, that I took an interest in his welfare. I saw him afterwards, & intimated the same to him personally; he sought the office, in the Treasury dep[t] of 4th Auditor, but the feeling of all here, revolted at it. I shall hold him in view, and should any opportunity occur, within the limit stated, be glad to serve him.

I regret much that it is not now in my power, to fix any period, at which I may with certainty promise myself the pleasure of seeing you. M[rs] Monroe's health is such as not to permit her to undertake the journey, and is also subjected to such occasional unfavorable changes, as to make it difficult for me to leave her for any length of time. It was my intention to have visited Albemarle, more than a month since, but I was prevented by that and other causes. I shall take her to Loudon in a day or two, which the elevation of the country, & air, resemble, what we

have so long profited of, in Albemarle, & should the change prove advantageous to her, I will continue my journey thither. But this is so uncertain, that I must beg of you, not to permit your mov'ment to depend in the slightest degree on mine. Whether I go over at the time suggested or not, I shall endeavour to see you in the autumn, when many concerns foreign & domestic will probably have reach'd a stage to require the most profound attention, and on which I shall be happy to confer freely with you & M^r^ Madison.

It is represented to us, by the Minister from Columbia, that an Agent of the French gov^t^, is now on his way to Bogota, with authority to offer to the republic, the acknowledgment of its independance, provided, it will establish a Monarchy: to state, that France will make no condition, as to the person to be plac'd in that station, and would be satisfied with Bolivar, if the people should prefer him.[1] In making this communication, the Minister asks, by order of his gov^t^, if the proposal should be rejected, & the people adhere to their republican system, and France, & other allied powers, refuse to recognize them, & pursue measures of hostility towards them, what part the U States would take? would they aid them by taking part in the war? This question will probably be press'd from other quarters, if not from all the new Southern States, & surely none can be of higher importance to ourselves. The British gov^t^, it is fear'd, will act the part in this concern, that it did lately, in

[1] See Mr. Adams's *Memoirs*, vi., 399, June 7th.

regard to Spain & Portugal, with this difference, that seeking the independence of the new States, it may not consent that armies shall be sent there, at least, in the present stage, in the hope that the Southern people will execute their purpose, on condition that their independence is acknowledg'd. The attitude which we have to maintain, in this great crisis, is in the highest degree important to the whole civilized world, since we stand alone, with every power beyond the Atlantic, against us, & with those on this side yielding us a very feeble, if any, support.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, August 2, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I intended soon after the adjournment of Congress to have visited Albemarle, & to have passed some time with you, but there have been so many objects to attend to here, of one kind or other, that it has been impossible for me to execute a purpose which I had much at heart. A fortnight ago I took my family to Loudon, where they now are. My return here was produced by the arrival of Gen[l] Clark, with upwards of 20 chiefs from the different tribes, inhabiting the country between our settlements & the Rocky Mountains, & by the necessity of having a consultation on some points relating to the new gov[ts] to the South, and also on the convention lately concluded with Russia for the adjustment of differences respecting the Northwest coast. I shall remain a few days only, & then join my family.

Whether I shall be able to see you this summer is uncertain. I do not think that Mrs. Monroe could go with me, & doubt whether I can go without her. Her health is much impair'd by many causes, particularly by our long service, & the heavy burdens & cares to which she has been subjected, and to which the strength of her constitution has not been equal. If the retirement to the country, & change of air should relieve her, and other circumstances should permit, I will certainly see you as soon as I may be able.

Mr. Salazar, the Minister from Columbia, stated lately, by order of his govt, that a French agent was expected at Bogota, having already arrived at the port, with power to treat with his govt respecting its independence. He observed that his govt had been advised, from an authentic source, that the govt of France would acknowledge its independence on one condition, the establishment of monarchy, and leave the person to be placed in that station to the people of Columbia. That Bolivar would not be objected to if preferred by them. He asked, should the proposition be rejected, and France become hostile in consequence, what part the U States would take in that event? What aid might they expect from us? The subject will of course be weighed thoroughly in giving the answer. The Executive has no right to compromit the nation in any question of war, nor ought we to presume that the people of Columbia will hesitate as to the answer to be given to any proposition which touches so vitally their liberties.

The convention with Russia will, I presume, be

very satisfactory to the nation. It consists of 6 articles. By the 1st it is stipulated that the citizens and subjects of the two parties shall not be disturb'd in navigating the great Pacific ocean, nor in landing on the coast (at points which are not already occupied) for the purpose of commerce with the nations, under the following restrictions. Art: 2d. that the citizens of the U States shall not land at any point where there is a Russian establishment without permission from the Governor, or Commandant — reciprocated as to Russians in our favor. 3d. no establishment shall be formed by citizens of the U S., nor under their authority, on the Nowest coast of Am:, nor in the adjacent Islands, north of 50° 40′ north Latitude; nor by Russians south of that Latitude. 4th For 10 years from the signature of the treaty the vessels of the two powers, & of their citizens & subjects may reciprocally frequent, without impediment, the interior seas, gulphs, harbours & creeks on the coast to fish, and trade with the natives. 5th From this priviledge of trade are excepted spirituous liquors, arms, swords, powder & munitions of war of every kind. Both powers agree to give effect to this provision, it being stipulated that the vessels of neither shall visit, or detain the vessels of the other, by the seizure of merchandize, or any measure of force, which may be engaged in this commerce; the high contracting powers reserving to themselves the right to fix and inflict the penalties on any breaches of the article. The 6th requires that the ratifications be exchanged in 10 months from its signature.

By this convention the claim to the "mare clausum" is given up, a very high northern lat: is established for our boundary with Russia, and our trade with the Indians placed for 10 years on a perfectly free footing, and after that term left open for negotiation. The British govt had, at our suggestion, agreed to treat in concert with us on both topics, the navigation, & boundaries, including the trade with the Indians, but on seeing that passage in the message which discountenanced the idea of further colonization on this continent, declined it, on the presumption that it would give offense to Russia, a reason which was communicated by Mr. Bagot to the Russian govt, & also to Mr. Middleton. By entering into the negotiation with us singly, & conceding to us these points, especially that relating to navigation, the Emperor has shewn great respect for the UStates. England will, of course, have a similar stipulation, in favor of the free navigation of the Pacifick, but we shall have the credit of having taken the lead in the affair. I think also that the event derives additional importance from the consideration that the treaty has been concluded since the receipt at Petersburg of the message at the opening of the last Session of Congress, which expressed sentiments in regard to our principles & hemisphere adverse to those entertained by the holy alliance.

Our best regards to Mrs. Madison and your mother — very sincerely I am, dear Sir, your friend & servant —

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

OAKHILL, Aug^t 26, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—The death of D^r Foushee has forc'd on me very reluctantly, the appointment of some person to fill his place, in the p: office at Richmond. I feel this, from the number of applicants, several of whom are particular friends, but more especially from the interest which I know you take in favor of Col: B. Peyton, who is now with me, & the distress it gives me to reject any of them. I mention'd to you on a former occasion, on an intimation from you in favor of Col: Peyton, the claims of Gov^r Preston, and the calculation I was apprized he made, on this office, without any special pledge from me at the time, in case the vacancy should occur during my service. The circumstances on which he relied were these. He has been seriously wounded in an action on the northern frontier, in the late war, his thigh being broken, & the enemy pressing & he *carried* on a litter, he was thrown from it, & his thigh broken again. As soon as he could be brought home, he was taken by his brother, & brought to my house in Washington, where we had much conversation, relative to his situation & circumstances, as well as on mine, & in which I gave him assurances of my good offices, for any object which he might have in view. This was glanc'd at. I was then in the dep^t of State. I had a hope at the time of our communication, that some other provision might have been made for him, and that such would have been my situation, in other respects as to leave me at liberty, to perform what

would have been very gratifying to me, a complyance with your wishes. The case is however different, & under circumstances which will I trust be satisfactory to you. It is proper for me further to add, in profound confidence, that among the other applications, one has been made by a person of great consideration, respecting whom, in competition with any other person, I cannot consult you. That forms another difficulty which would be felt, if Col: Preston was out of the question. I shall treat Col: Preston with every degree of kindness, & communicate with him freely on the subject of his credit.

TO GENERAL SMITH.

OAKHILL, VIRG^{A} Sep^{r} 25, 1824.

SIR,— I have been very much concerned to find by your late communication that the appointment of Colonel Mosher, to the office of Judge Advocate for the militia of the District, had hurt the feelings of any of the officers in it. He had been very strongly recommended to me as a citizen of Georgetown, a young man of talents and merit, capable of rendering service to his country, & to me, & in consequence I took him into my family as a secretary, & have found him very capable and useful. As to the office in question, I thought that there could be no objection to his appointment, as it interfered with the rank of no one, and I was not aware that there was any competitor for it, or that any other person wished it. From the knowledge I have of his qualifications, &

the opinion I have formed of his merit, I think they entitle him to a higher station.

Having witnessed in the late war, and particularly at the distressing crisis of the invasion of the city, the good conduct of the militia of the District, in which there was no disposition to shrink from danger, but the contrary, I have always entertained & expressed that sentiment in their favor. Your own conduct, & that of the officers generally, was very satisfactory to me. What I then saw of your & their devotion to our common country commanded my entire respect, and so strong was this impression that I have since, and shall continue, to take a deep interest in the welfare of all of you, wherever I may be.

When I return to the city, as I shall soon do, it will afford me pleasure to see you, when I shall endeavor to reconcile differences, and to promote a good understanding with those who are unfortunately now at variance.

TO WILLIAM WIRT.

OAKHILL, Sep^{r} 27th 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have receiv'd yours of the 22^{d}, communicating the desire of Gov^{r} Edwards to contradict, by my authority, two statements which have appeared in some of the gazettes, the first of which is, that he denied to me that he was the author of the pieces signed A. B., & obtained his nomination to Mexico in consequence of such denial—The second, that he

applied to me, through Mr. Adams, after his return from Illinois, for permission to visit me, which was refused.

I may say with perfect sincerity that the occurrence of the nomination of Gov^r^ Edwards, and his conduct afterwards, in writing the letter to the H. of R., &c., has been one of the most painful of my public life.

As to the first alleg'd fact, I have no hesitation in saying that he never did deny to me that he was the author of those papers, and, in consequence, that he did not obtain his nomination on that ground. I will state further that I always did believe, even from the commencement of the publication of those papers, that he was the author. It was that belief which induced me, in the early stage, when the first nominations were made, & he came into view with very strong pretensions, from the support which he had given the gov^t^ on many trying occasions, & the very favorable opinion which I had formed of him, to put him aside for reasons which I need not repeat to you. When the subject of nomination was taken up again more than a year had pass'd from the period of those publications, and that subject seemed to be at rest, and in a great measure forgotten. Mr. Crawford had also in the interval made his report, in which he claimed, to a certain extent, my sanction to his measures, w^h^ was admitted. The attack from that period bore on me, as well as on him, in that extent. I thought myself therefore more at liberty to endulge generous feelings towards Gov^r^ Edwards after that report was made than before. If the attack on Mr.

Crawford injured him it was equally an injury to me. The freedom of the press was also another strong reason why the attack should not continue to prevent the nomination of Gov^r^ Edwards. It was on this view of the subject that I felt myself justified in making the nomination. I did not think, under all the circumstances of the case, that it could subject me to the imputation of being unfriendly to Mr. Crawford, or a partizan, in the pending election, against him.

The renewal of the attack on Mr. Crawford by Gov^r^ Edwards immediately after the appointment, with the avowal that he was the author of those papers, placed me in a new situation in regard to the parties. The letter of Mr. Crawford, the motive assigned for it, had attracted no attention whatever. The distinguished proof of respect for, & confidence in Gov^r^ Edwards evinced by his nomination threw out of view all the considerations which had previously prevented it, and the friendly & kind feelings towards him which induced me to surmount them. The nomination & the attack being so nearly connected together made them appear to many as emanating from the same source. They inferr'd that after so strong a proof of confidence & friendship as I had given to Gov^r^ Edwards he would never have taken such a step without my knowledge & sanction. Thus it happened that an act which was impelled by generous motives towards a friend became a powerful instrument in the hands of enemies for my annoyance, and, what was very extraordinary, the more generous and

the stronger the claim on the one party, the greater was the hold that it gave to the other to annoy me.

With respect to the conduct of Mr. Crawford, or his friends, that is a point which involves considerations of a different character. You well know what his conduct has been in the meetings of the members with me, in deliberation on important subjects, and how little it has been in harmony with theirs. My own opinion has been, taking the whole subject into view, that it comported better with the principles of our gov^{t}, & with my own character, to permit him to remain than to remove him, & I have so acted. Had I taken a different view of the subject I should not have hesitated to remove him. In that event I would have gone directly to the object. To be suspected of retaining, & attacking him in an underhanded way, through another, has added much to the mortification inseparable from the occurrence.

With respect to the other charge, of his having made an application, through Mr. Adams, for permission to visit me, which I refused, my impression is that I expressed a sentiment corresponding with that said to have been expressed by Dr. Everett.

If an agency of mine involved a question simply between Mr. Edwards & me, I should not hesitate to contradict the facts alleged at once, but, in the state in which the affair is placed, it appears to me that any direct act of mine, however cautiously drawn, will be considered, not merely as an act of justice to the party in view, but of injustice to the other, and in consequence of making myself a partizan between

them. I think it best therefore to keep to myself, & to say nothing, in that way, on either side. Let each do himself justice in his own way. If Gov^r Edwards thinks proper to deny the facts, in the manner stated by you, I shall certainly never contradict him, but by silence admit the truth, and, if applied to by others, affirm it.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON October 18. 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I returned to the city lately to receive our old friend Gen^l La Fayette, who, after remaining here a few days, set out on Saturday for Yorktown. He has I presume reached that port by this time. He is in good health & spirits, and less altered in his form than I expected, and not at all in his mind, unless by improvement. He appears to me to have a profound knowledge of mankind, & of the present state of Europe, & of this hemisphere. He did well by commencing with our constituents, & coming from them to the government. It shows that the sentiment in favor of our republican principles is universal, & that he is respected & beloved by all for his devotion to those principles, of which he has been the victim. Showing him all possible kindness and attention here, the object has been to let the public demonstrations be those of our constituents only. By this the gov^t is less compromitted with the holy alliance, with whom also the effect will be more imposing.

I have long wished to visit Albemarle, & to pass

some hours at least with you. I must be here the beginning of next month to prepare for the meeting of Congress. If I can go, I shall set out in a few days.

Our accounts from Russia are favorable, & the late treaty relating to the Northwest coast, & the Pacific, all that we could desire. Our best regards to Mrs. Madison. Mrs. Monroe would be happy to come with me, but it will be impossible. Her state of health forbids it.

With very sincere regard I am your friend —

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON October 18. 1824.

DEAR SIR,—General La Fayette left this for York, on Saturday, and is I presume, now near his post of destination, whether he will proceed thence, by Richmond, to your house, or directly, to Charlestown, & Savannah, & return by your residence, he had not decided, when he left us. Time, has produced less waste of his form, since you last saw him, than it does on most men, and none on his mind. His mov'ment since his arrival in the U States, has been well directed. Had he visited this city in the first instance, the compromitment of the gov^{t}, with the holy Alliance, would have been much greater, than by going directly to our fellow citizens, & from them to the gov^{t}. By this course, the nation has the credit. The holy Alliance, & all the gov^{t} of Europe, must therefore look to us, as an united people, devoted to the principles of our revolution & of free

republican government. My hope is, that the nation will provide for him, in a way, to put him at ease, the remainder of his days, and to indemnify his family, for the losses, which the principles which he imbibed in our great strength, & of which he has been the victim, subjected them to.

It is my earnest desire to visit Albemarle, & to pass a day, with you, and one with Mr Madison, before the commenc'ment of the Session. If I do, it must be soon, as I must be back, early in the next month, to prepare for that event. My present impression is, that I will go, & set out in the course of this week.

All our accounts from Russia are favorable. The treaty lately concluded, respecting the Nº West Coast, & the Pacific is, I think, all that we could have asked.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

HIGHLAND, Octr 31. 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Finding that Genl La Fayette will not arrive till Thursday, and that the dinner will not be given, on that day, and may be deferred some days longer, I regret that it will be utterly out of my power to remain in the county to unite with you and other friends, in those demonstrations of regard for him, to which he is so justly entitled, & we all so sincerely feel. I have resolv'd therefore to set out, on my return to the city, early in the morning, wishing you to be so kind as to make the necessary explanations to him of the cause, in aid of those which are hastily suggested

in the enclos'd letter, which you will be so good as to deliver to him, on his arrival at your house. The meeting of Congress, is so near at hand, that I have not a moment to lose, in making the preparations which will be necessary, for my communications to that body. The collection & arrangement of the documents, will require time, as will the digest of the subject matter, to be communicated. I shall be heartily rejoiced when the term of my service expires, & I may return home in peace with my family, on whom, and especially on M^rs^. Monroe, the burdens & cares of my long public service, have borne too heavily. With great respect, etc.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE.

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1824.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

The view which I have now to present to you of our affairs, foreign and domestic, realizes the most sanguine anticipations which have been entertained of the public prosperity. If we look to the whole, our growth as a nation continues to be rapid beyond example; if to the States which compose it, the same gratifying spectacle is exhibited. Our expansion over the vast territory within our limits has been great, without indicating any decline in those sections from which the emigration has been most conspicuous. We have daily gained strength by a native population in every quarter — a population devoted to our happy system of government and cherishing the bond of union with fraternal affection. Experience has already shewn that the difference of climate and of industry, proceeding from that cause, inseparable from such vast domains, and which under other systems might have a repulsive tendency, can not fail to produce with us under wise regulations the opposite effect. What one portion wants the other may

supply ; and this will be most sensibly felt by the parts most distant from each other, forming thereby a domestic market and an active intercourse between the extremes and throughout every portion of our Union. Thus by a happy distribution of power between the National and State Governments, Governments which rest exclusively on the sovereignty of the people and are fully adequate to the great purposes for which they were respectively instituted, causes which might otherwise lead to dismemberment operate powerfully to draw us closer together. In every other circumstance a correct view of the actual state of our Union must be equally gratifying to our constituents. Our relations with foreign powers are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled with some. Our revenue under the mild system of impost and tonnage continues to be adequate to all the purposes of the Government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing in the degree authorized by existing appropriations to maturity, and due progress is made in the augmentation of the Navy to the limit prescribed for it by law. For these blessings we owe to Almighty God, from whom we derive them, and with profound reverence, our most grateful and unceasing acknowledgments.

In adverting to our relations with foreign powers, which are always an object of the highest importance, I have to remark that of the subjects which have been brought into discussion with them during the present Administration some have been satisfactorily terminated, others have been suspended, to be resumed hereafter under circumstances more favorable to success, and others are still in negotiation, with the hope that they may be adjusted with mutual accommodation to the interests and to the satisfaction of the respective parties. It has been the invariable object of this Government to cherish the most friendly relations with every power, and on principles and conditions which might make them permanent. A systematic effort has been made to place our commerce with each power on a footing of perfect reciprocity, to settle with each in a spirit of candor and liberality all existing differences, and to anticipate and remove so far as it might be practicable all causes of future variance.

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The principles upon which the commercial policy of the United States is founded are to be traced to an early period. They are essentially connected with those upon which their independence was declared, and owe their origin to the enlightened men who took the lead in our affairs at that important epoch. They are developed in their first treaty of commerce with France of 6th February, 1778, and by a formal commission which was instituted immediately after the conclusion of their Revolutionary struggle, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of commerce with every European power. The first treaty of the United States with Prussia, which was negotiated by that commission, affords a signal illustration of those principles. The act of Congress of the 3d March, 1815, adopted immediately after the return of peace, was a new overture to foreign nations to establish our commercial relations with them on the basis of free and equal reciprocity. That principle has pervaded all the acts of Congress and all the negotiations of the Executive on the subject since.

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In conformity with a resolution of Congress of the last session, an invitation was given to General Lafayette to visit the United States, with an assurance that a ship of war should attend at any port of France which he might designate, to receive and convey him across the Atlantic, whenever it might be convenient for him to sail. He declined the offer of the public ship from motives of delicacy, but assured me that he had long intended and would certainly visit our Union in the course of the present year. In August last he arrived at New York, where he was received with the warmth of affection and gratitude to which his very important and disinterested services and sacrifices in our Revolutionary struggle so eminently entitled him. A corresponding sentiment has since been manifested in his favor throughout every portion of our Union, and affectionate invitations have been given him to extend his visits to them. To these he has yielded all the accommodation in his power. At every designated point of rendezvous the whole population of the neighboring country has been assembled to greet him, among whom it has excited in a peculiar

manner the sensibility of all to behold the surviving members of our Revolutionary contest, civil and military, who had shared with him in the toils and dangers of the war, many of them in a decrepit state. A more interesting spectacle, it is believed, was never witnessed, because none could be founded on purer principles, none proceed from higher or more disinterested motives. That the feelings of those who had fought and bled with him in a common cause should have been much excited was natural. There are, however, circumstances attending these interviews which pervaded the whole community and touched the breasts of every age, even the youngest among us. There was not an individual present who had not some relative who had not partaken in those scenes, nor an infant who had not heard the relation of them. But the circumstance which was most sensibly felt, and which his presence brought forcibly to the recollection of all, was the great cause in which we were engaged and the blessings which we have derived from our success in it. The struggle was for independence and liberty, public and personal, and in this we succeeded. The meeting with one who had borne so distinguished a part in that great struggle, and from such lofty and disinterested motives, could not fail to affect profoundly every individual and of every age. It is natural that we should all take a deep interest in his future welfare, as we do. His high claims on our Union are felt, and the sentiment universal that they should be met in a generous spirit. Under these impressions I invite your attention to the subject with a view that, regarding his very important services, losses, and sacrifices, a provision may be made and tendered to him which shall correspond with the sentiments and be worthy the character of the American people.

In turning our attention to the condition of the civilized world, in which the United States have always taken a deep interest, it is gratifying to see how large a portion of it is blessed with peace. The only wars which now exist within that limit are those between Turkey and Greece, in Europe, and between Spain and the new Governments, our neighbors, in this hemisphere. In both these wars the cause of independence, of liberty and humanity, continues to prevail. The success of Greece, when the relative population of the contending parties is considered, commands our

admiration and applause, and that it has had a similar effect with the neighboring powers is obvious. The feeling of the whole civilized world is excited in a high degree in their favor. May we not hope that these sentiments, winning on the hearts of their respective Governments, may lead to a more decisive result; that they may produce an accord among them to replace Greece on the ground which she formerly held, and to which her heroic exertions at this day so eminently entitle her?

With respect to the contest to which our neighbors are a party, it is evident that Spain as a power is scarcely felt in it. These new States had completely achieved their independence before it was acknowledged by the United States, and they have since maintained it with little foreign pressure. The disturbances which have appeared in certain portions of that vast territory have proceeded from internal causes, which had their origin in their former Governments and have not yet been thoroughly removed. It is manifest that these causes are daily losing their effect, and that these new States are settling down under Governments elective and representative in every branch, similar to our own. In this course we ardently wish them to persevere, under a firm conviction that it will promote their happiness. In this, their career, however, we have not interfered, believing that every people have a right to institute for themselves the government which, in their judgment, may suit them best. Our example is before them, of the good effect of which, being our neighbors, they are competent judges, and to their judgment we leave it, in the expectation that other powers will pursue the same policy. The deep interest which we take in their independence, which we have acknowledged, and in their enjoyment of all the rights incident thereto, especially in the very important one of instituting their own Governments, has been declared, and is known to the world. Separated as we are from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European Governments no in the caurses which produce them. The balance of power between them, into whichever scale it may turn in its various vibrations, cannot affect us. It is the interest of the United States to preserve the most friendly relations with every power and on conditions fair, equal, and applicable to all. But

in regard to our neighbors our situation is different. It is impossible for the European Governments to interfere in their concerns, especially in those alluded to, which are vital, without affecting us; indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear to be equally applicable to us. It is gratifying to know that some of the powers with whom we enjoy a very friendly intercourse, and to whom these views have been communicated, have appeared to acquiesce in them.

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From the view above presented it is manifest that the situation of the United States is in the highest degree prosperous and happy. There is no object which as a people we can desire which we do not possess or which is not within our reach. Blessed with governments the happiest which the world ever knew, with no distinct orders in society or divided interests in any portion of the vast territory over which their dominion extends, we have every motive to cling together which can animate a virtuous and enlightened people. The great object is to preserve these blessings, and to hand them down to the latest posterity. Our experience ought to satisfy us that our progress under the most correct and provident policy will not be exempt from danger. Our institutions form an important epoch in the history of the civilized world. On their preservation and in their utmost purity everything will depend. Extending as our interests do to every part of the inhabited globe and to every sea to which our citizens are carried by their industry and enterprise, to which they are invited by the wants of others, and have a right to go, we must either protect them in the enjoyment of their rights or abandon them in certain events to waste and desolation. Our attitude is highly interesting as relates to other powers, and particularly to our southern neighbors. We have duties to perform with respect to all to which we must be faithful. To every kind of danger we should pay the most vigilant and unceasing attention, remove the cause where it may be practicable, and be prepared to meet it when inevitable.

Against foreign danger the policy of the Government seems to be already settled. The events of the late war admonished us to

make our maritime frontier impregnable by a well-digested chain of fortifications, and to give efficient protection to our commerce by augmenting our Navy to a certain extent, which has been steadily pursued, and which it is incumbent upon us to complete as soon as circumstances will permit. In the event of war it is on the maritime frontier that we shall be assailed. It is in that quarter, therefore, that we should be prepared to meet the attack. It is there that our whole force will be called into action to prevent the destruction of our towns and the desolation and pillage of the interior. To give full effect to this policy great improvements will be indispensable. Access to those works by every practicable communication should be made easy and in every direction. The intercourse between every part of our Union should also be promoted and facilitated by the exercise of those powers which may comport with a faithful regard to the great principles of our Constitution. With respect to internal causes, those great principles point out with equal certainty the policy to be pursued. Resting on the people as our Governments do, State and National, with well-defined powers, it is of the highest importance that they severally keep within the limits prescribed to them. Fulfilling that sacred duty, it is of equal importance that the movement between them be harmonious, and in the case of any disagreement, should any such occur, a calm appeal be made to the people, and that their voice be heard and promptly obeyed. Both Governments being instituted for the common good, we can not fail to prosper while those who made them are attentive to the conduct of their representatives and control their measures. In the pursuit of these great objects let a generous spirit and national views and feelings be indulged, and let every part recollect that by cherishing that spirit and improving the condition of the others in what relates to their welfare the general interest will not only be promoted, but the local advantage be reciprocated by all.

I cannot conclude this communication, the last of the kind which I shall have to make, without recollecting with great sensibility and heartfelt gratitude the many instances of the public confidence and the generous support which I have received from my fellow-citizens in the various trusts with which I have been

honored. Having commenced my service in early youth, and continued it since with few and short intervals, I have witnessed the great difficulties to which our Union has been exposed, and admired the virtue and intelligence with which they have been surmounted. From the present prosperous and happy state I derive a gratificaton which I cannot express. That these blessings may be preserved and perpetuated will be the object of my fervent and unceasing prayers to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON Dec^{r} 11, 1824

DEAR SIR,—I sent you the other day a copy of the message as first printed, & with errors in it. I now enclose a copy which is I presume correct. I send also a copy of the documents relating to the negotiations with the British gov^{t} for the suppression of the slave trade.

In the settlements of the accounts of both my missions to Europe, that commencing in 1794 under Gen^{l} Washington, and that of 1803 under you, I have thought that injustice was done me. A more serious injury has been attempted in the two last sessions of Congress, in an apparently organized form, it being in that of a committee in each Session. The period of my retirement approaching, I intend to invite the attention of Congress to both subjects, that I may place both in the light in which they ought to stand, and to protect myself in the latter from malignant aspersions after my departure. It would be gratifying to me to be permitted by you to show to the Committee to whom the subject will probably be

referred the first paragraph of your letter of the 13th of January, 1803, announcing to me my appointment, or such parts of it as you may think proper. No copy would be given, and the sole object, in addition to the evidence it affords of your good opinion, would be to shew the haste with which I hurried from home, & from the country, leaving my private concerns, in consequence, unsettled. I need not add of you and Mr. Madison, in the settlement of the acc^{t} for the latter mission, I have no complaint, as will be distinctly stated.

At this time I am much pressed or should say something on the subject of internal improv'ment, explanatory of the principles on which I have acted, tho' I can add but little to what is stated in a former message to Congress on the subject. Should I say anything hereafter it will be explanatory only, and to which I shall wish no reply. I hope that your health is perfectly restored.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, Dec^{r} 13, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — I send you herewith a more correct copy of the message than that which I lately forwarded, & to which I add a copy of the documents relating to the negotiations with the British gov^{t} for the suppression of the slave trade.

You may recollect that one of the items in my acc^{t} for compensation in my last mission to Europe, the 8th, involving the expenses incurred in England after

my return from Spain, by various causes, and particularly the special mission in which I was associated with Mr. Pinkney, was suspended by your order for further consideration when the acct was settled. In that state it has remain'd since. I came into the Dept of State soon afterwards, and in consequence deemed it improper ever to mention the subject while you remain'd in office, or to touch it after your retirement. There are other items in that acct the settlement of which I have always thought required revision. For example I was not allowed an outfit, in the mission to France, when I left the country, nor till after my return years afterwards. In my absence my tract of land above Charlottesville, of 950 acres, was sold, to pay neighborhood debts, which, if the outfit had been allowed me, might have been avoided. On a revision of the subject you, on your own responsibility, kindly allowed me the outfit. All other ministers were allowed outfits. Interest on the delay appears to be a fair claim, & from that time. There are other items in that mission which may merit notice. In the settlement of the acct for the first mission I was very seriously injured, as I think may be shewn. It is my intention to bring the subject before Congress, with a view to give the explanations necessary before my retirement, & to leave them to be recurr'd to, at another Session, when decided on. I have another, & much stronger motive for inviting the attention of Congress to a concern relating to myself. An attempt has been made to injure me in another form, with which, as it has been treated on in

Congress, you are, I presume, somewhat acquainted. I cannot withdraw and leave this unnoticed. I intend to bring both subjects under consideration, with a view to do myself justice, and to protect myself, after I am gone, from malignant aspersion. The attempt referr'd to was made in the last two Sessions, by a committee in each, or rather under the sanction of such an appointment, & who pursued the object with great industry & system, as well as malignity.

The reception of General La Fayette by Congress has corresponded with that given him by the people throughout the Union, and will, I doubt not, have a very happy effect in Europe, as well as in the U States.

TO CONGRESS, REQUESTING AN INVESTIGATION OF HIS ACCOUNTS.

WASHINGTON January 5, 1825.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

As the term of my service in this high trust will expire at the end of the present session of Congress, I think it proper to invite your attention to an object very interesting to me, and which in the movement of our Government is deemed on principle equally interesting to the public. I have been long in the service of my country and in its most difficult conjunctures, as well abroad as at home, in the course of which I have had, a control over the public moneys to a vast amount. If in the course of my service it shall appear on the most severe scrutiny, which I invite, that the public have sustained any loss by any act of mine, or of others for which I ought to be held responsible, I am willing to bear it. If, on the other hand, it shall appear on a view of the law and of precedents in other cases that justice has been withheld from me in any instance, as I have believed it to be in many, and greatly

to my injury, it is submitted whether it ought not to be rendered. It is my wish that all matters of account and claim between my country and myself be settled with that strict regard to justice which is observed in settlements between individuals in private life. It would be gratifying to me, and it appears to be just, that the subject should be now examined in both respects with a view to a decision hereafter. No bill would, it is presumed, be presented for my signature which would operate either for or against me, and I would certainly sanction none in my favor. While here I can furnish testimony, applicable to any case, in both views, which a full investigation may require, and the committee to whom the subject may be referred, by reporting facts now with a view to a decision after my retirement, will allow time for further information and due consideration of all matters relating thereto. Settlements with a person in this trust, which could not be made with the accounting officers of the Government, should always be made by Congress and before the public. The cause of the delay in presenting these claims will be explained to the committee to whom the subject may be referred. It will, I presume, be made apparent that it was inevitable; that from the peculiar circumstances attending each case Congress alone could decide on it, and that from considerations of delicacy it would have been highly improper for me to have sought it from Congress at an earlier period than that which is now proposed — the expiration of my term in this high trust.

Other considerations appear to me to operate with great force in favor of the measure which I now propose. A citizen who has long served his country in its highest trusts has a right, if he has served with fidelity, to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity and peace in his retirement. This he can not expect to do unless his conduct in all pecuniary concerns shall be placed by severe scrutiny on a basis not to be shaken. This, therefore, forms a strong motive with me for the inquiry which I now invite. The public may also derive considerable advantage from the precedent in the future movement of the Government. It being known that such scrutiny was made in my case, it may form a new and strong barrier against the abuse of the public confidence in future.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, Jany 23, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have doubted, as you know, for some time past, whether I would fill the vacancies in several stations, and particularly in the govt of Arkansas, & in the missions to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Rio Janeiro & Guatemala, but have, in a great measure, concluded that the omission to fill them would be considered a neglect of duty which might injure me in the public opinion.

I am disposed also to comply with Mr. Nelson's repeated request to be permitted to return home, & to nominate a successor to him. If I act, I ought to do it without delay. I will confer with you on this subject to-morrow, if it will be convenient for you to call in the forenoon.

With sincere regard.

[Endorsement.] "I had intimated to the Secretaries, the commencement of the Session, my indisposition to make certain nominations, as the persons wod have to act under my successor, & might not dept before my term expired. I afterwards doubted on the subject."

TO JUDGE MARSHALL.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have received with great interest your letter of the 7th with the Vol: of your history of our Colonial state, which I shall retain as a testimonial of your regard.

The favorable opinion which you have expressed of my conduct, in discharge of the arduous duties of the very important office from which I have just retired, affords me the highest gratification. We began our career together in early youth, and the whole course of my public conduct has been under your observation. Your approbation therefore of my administration of the affairs of our country deserves to be held, & will be held by me in the highest estimation. For your own welfare & happiness be assured of my best wishes.[1]

TO GENERAL JACKSON.

OAKHILL, LOUDON, July 3, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—Although you are entitled to a copy of the report of the Committee on my message to Congress at the last Session on my private concerns,

[1] I append to the above Judge Marshall's letter. It is in contrast with the petty rancor and partisan bitterness with which the memory and the acts of James Monroe are so frequently and unjustifiably assailed by some historical writers:

"WASHINGTON, March 7th 1825.

"DEAR SIR,—Permit me to ask your acceptance of our colonial history which is offered as a mark of the affectionate resolutions excited in the bosom of the author when he looks back to times long since gone by.

"In the momentous and then unlooked for events which have since taken place, you have filled a large space in the public mind, and have been conspicuously instrumental in effecting objects of great interest to our common country. Believe me when I congratulate you on the circumstances under which your political course terminates, and that I feel sincere pleasure in the persuasion that your administration may be reviewed with real approbation by our wisest statesmen.

"With great respect and esteem

"I am, dear sir, your obed^{t}

"J. MARSHALL."

with the documents connected with it, yet, as it is possible that you may not have received it, I take the liberty to send you one here. I am very anxious that the subject should be well understood in all its parts, and especially by those for whose good opinion I entertain the highest respect. The first part will of course be examined by reference to the rule which was established and observed in regard to others. It fell to my lot to suffer under the decision of one party when the contest was at the highest between them, and of the other when the sentiment in favor of economy had its greatest force. There never was a time that I could expect, or ask an important decision on the subject, until that of which I avail'd myself. I wish, as I have stated, nothing but justice, and shall never touch the subject again, if every claim is rejected. The second part is that respecting which I have most feeling. After 42 years of public service, in the most trying & difficult conjunctures of our country, & in stations, in most instances, of the highest responsibility, to be exposed to such an attack as that which these papers shew, was undoubtedly the most mortifying incident of my whole life. Had I been disposed to take advantage of my country a thousand opportunities had before presented themselves, in which I might have made an immense profit, & escaped detection. These opportunities existed abroad, as well as at home, & especially in the late war, when I was compelled, at the most difficult period, to take the affairs of the Treasury, as well as of the Departments of

War & State, under my care. I speak of facts which are known, & cannot be disputed. Did I look to myself at that time at the expense of the public, or at any other time? To have become the object of a malignant & systematic persecution in the two preceding Sessions, under circumstances which I could not notice sooner than I did, excited equally my mortification & indignation. Was I compelled to use my furniture, and if I was, to what purpose did I apply the money receiv'd for it? and how does the business now stand? Is not everything in the hands & under control of the government, and was it not so from the beginning? Were the letters written at the time the transaction occur'd, and with honest intentions, and a generous confidence in the government, or since, after this scrutiny was set on foot, and for the purposes of fraud & deception? By those visits of our maritime & inland frontiers, and the establishment I was forced to keep up in the house whenever absent, while there were so many workmen employ'd about it, I am satisfied that I expended a sum which would have relieved me from all my difficulties had I so employed it. But pecuniary concerns I never regarded, and indeed I now feel that I have regarded too little the just claims of my family. It is to character that I look, and in doing that I only seek justice. In sending you these documents I have been led, in the spirit which has hitherto existed between us, to enter more into this subject than I usually do. You will excuse me for it.

I hope that you and Mrs. Jackson arrived in good health at home, and that you both still enjoy it. Mrs. Monroe left me some weeks since for N. York, on a visit to our youngest daughter, where she now is, but we expect her back soon, that is, in a month. Her health has been much improved by the journey. We hope that as you return to Congress you and your Lady will come by, & stay some days with us. It will afford us great pleasure. Mr. & Mrs. Hay are with us, who desire their best respects to you both.

With great respect & sincere regard I am, dear Sir, yours.

TO JUDGE McLEAN.

OAK HILL, August 7, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 2nd inst. some days since, and was much gratified to hear that Major Lee was willing, and had decided to recur to all the necessary documents, to enable him to render justice, in the interesting occurrences which took place between Genl. Jackson and me, during my service in the Administration. Strict justice is all that I desire, and which may be rendered, without detracting in the slightest degree from his merit. To accomplish this all that will be necessary will be to give to well authenticated facts their due weight. To misrepresent them, which might be innocently done if not known, and the proof not seen, would not be right, nor for the interest of either

party. That this proof has not been published heretofore, considering the call for it, has proceeded from causes which may be readily conceived. They certainly indicate no unkind feeling to Genl. Jackson, nor any ardent desire, knowing the ground on which I stood, to rescue my own fame from misconception, and misrepresentation. To make you thoroughly acquainted with what has passed between Major Lee & me, on this subject, I send you a copy of two letters to him; the first of which was written at New York, and the second on my return here, which you will be so kind as to return me at your leisure.

Knowing the jealousy with which every movement is watched, at this time, by the contending parties on each side, great care must be taken in making Major Lee acquainted with the facts and documents, a knowledge of which it is his desire to obtain, as to the manner by which it shall be done. If he comes here very improper inferences might, and probably would be drawn from it. It will, I am persuaded, be most advisable for me to deposit with some very confidential friend, in this city, all these papers; and for him to show them to him at moments of leisure. Will it be convenient for you to render me this service? Mr. G. Graham will, I am satisfied, aid you in it, should any aid be necessary.

Very sincerely your friend.

P. S. With respect to my claims, the sentiment which you express, in regard to my further agency concerning them, has my entire concurrence. My land and slaves have all been sold in Albemarle, as

has been the tract of 20,000 acres in Clay county, Kentucky, in satisfaction of debts contracted in the public service, and large balances are still due. But I have no thought of taking any steps which might degrade the character of my country, arising from the trusts with which I have been honored, or be inconsistent with the well vouched incidents of my past life.

TO H. U. ADDINGTON.[1]

September 7 (?) 1825

I have just had the pleasure, on my return from Albemarle, to receive your letter of the 7th instant, which I hasten to answer in the hope that you will receive it before you leave the country.

The very kind and friendly sentiments which you have expressed in favor of my public conduct have excited in a high degree my sensibility. The impression is the stronger because I know that they are

[1] Henry Unwin Addington, Secretary of Legation, acted as British Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* from August 9, 1823, the date of Sir Stratford Canning's departure, to August 20, 1825. On his departure he wrote the following to which the above is in answer:

"My dear Sir,— I had fully intended, before I took my final leave of this country, to have paid my respects to you in your retreat; but I find, as the time approaches for my departure, which will take place very shortly, that business multiplies upon me so much, that I shall be unable to execute a prospect from which I had promised myself so much pleasure, for a very peculiar pleasure it would have given me to have greeted in his retirement a man for whom, while in the exercise of his high functions as Chief Magistrate of this Republic, I entertained so sincere a respect.

"I will not quit this place however without at least offering you the only testimony now in my power of the esteem in which I hold your character, and the gratitude which I feel as well for the liberal sentiments which both in word

sincere. It has been my fortune, in a long course of public service, to have been thrown into different countries, & to have resided many years in yours in the discharge of important duties. I left it with sentiments and feelings the most favorable to many with whom I had official relation, & many others in private life — Sentiments and feelings which I have never ceas'd to entertain. May I ask the kindness of you to intimate this on my part to your uncle L^d^ Sidmouth, to Lord Holland, & to Mr. Canning. Should you be in Washington, and have time to pass a few days with me, it will afford me great satisfaction. Wher'ever you may be, I beg you to be assured that your conduct and character in the discharge of your duties have commanded my high respect, & that you will carry with you my best wishes for your future welfare.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Jany 15, 1826.

DEAR SIR,— The communication which you made to me when last at your house, of the correspondence

and deed you have constantly manifested towards my country, as for your kind and friendly deportment towards myself personally.

"I beg you to be assured, my dear Sir, that from my heart I wish you health and happiness for your future years, and earnestly desire that you may reap in the comforts and contentment of private life the reward of an honorable and well-spent existence, to which you are justly entitled, and find in your retirement that consolation which the honest conviction of having acted through life with uprightness and integrity cannot fail, under all circumstances, whether of joy or affliction, to afford you.

"With every sentiment of esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, Your very faithful & obed^t^ Servant."

between you & Mr. Giles, in reference to a communication made to you by Mr. Adams, pending the embargo, of certain combinations which menac'd the Union, & produc'd its repeal, has engaged my attention since, as far as the urgent business in which I have been engag'd would permit. I have reflected more on it, since, that business was concluded, and now on the road, take the liberty to drop you a few lines on it.

My opinion is that Mr. Giles in himself, may write what he pleases, & do no harm. My fear is, that if your name is connected, with that very important occurrence, by any act of your own, and especially, by a correspondence with him, that it will become the cause of great inquietude to you, and do a public injury. It will in the first instance connect you, with whatever he may do hereafter, that is with his writings, and his whole career, for it may, & probably will be inferr'd, that you would not have sanction'd that publication by a disclosure of all the facts connected with it, without approving the use to be made of it.

Whether the communication made to you, by Mr. Adams, was of a confidential nature, is a point, which you have no doubt, fully weighed, & on which I shall, in its relation to Mr. Adams, say nothing. In other views, however, the disclosure is important, to yourself, as well as to the public. The disclosure by you, of a fact, which forc'd the govt., from its ground, to save the Union, is of the most serious import. The fact was never known before, and would not be

believ'd, if not vouched by you. What the effect may be, on the State of the Union, at this time, I know not, for I have not had time, to trace it, in all its bearings, in the present divisions, with which it is agitated, and which, altho' very much of a personal nature, may under certain excit'ments lead to great results. I suggest for your consideration.

I write you this in haste, and in profound confidence, and from the motives stated, a regard for the public welfare, and for your happiness, being very sincerely, etc.

The object of this is to bring the subject under your consideration, in the light suggested, that you may, if in your power, controul it, should you deem it proper.

TO GENERAL DEARBORN.

OAK HILL, Jany. 30. 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I have just had the pleasure to receive yours of the 27th by which I learn, that the committee have called on the Secry of State for information whether, my detention in Engld 2 years and 4 months, after my, return from Spain was voluntary or not. On this point, there can be no question, because it was stated, in the observations which I presented to the Dept in 1810, when my acct was settled, and not controverted. Had it not been admitted, the item wod I presume, have been decided on then. But there are many documents in the Dept of State which are conclusive on the subject. A letter to the Secry of State,

of Oct^r 18, 1805.—to L^d Mulgrave of the 10th same month, to the Secr^y of State of Nov^r 11^th of Jan^y 28^th 1806 & Sep^r 13^th and also my letter from Richmond, Feb^y 28^th 1808, after my return. — I have written to Mr. Gouverneur, in the expectation that he will be with you, by the time this reaches you, or in a day or two afterward, and given him a memo. of these letters, and have also enclosed to him a paper, in a letter, endorsed as heretofore, to Mr. Graham, open, for his and your inspection, which contains a review of every item of my claims, with a view to repell such objections to them as have come to my knowledge, without noticing the quarter from whence they come. In this paper, I have dwelt particularly on the claim to interest, on the outfit which was withheld, on my last mission to F^e & interest in the aggregate, from the time it was allowed to the present time, and also on the 8^th item, in the acc^t presented in 1810, for extra expenses, incurred in Engl^d on my return from Spain. The paper is concise, but still it sheds new lights on the subject.

I have added two separate sheets, or rather parts of sheets, on the subject of the documents, sent down long since, to Mr. Gouverneur, and which I presume, you have seen, in the hands of Mr. Graham, relating to the cause, or rather suspicion, which induc'd my recall from the first mission, and also to the house. If it is deem'd proper to present the other parts of the paper, these may be included with it, or not, as may be judged expedient. I wish you to read the paper, including those two sheets, immediately, so as

to decide, with Mr. Gouverneur, if arriv'd, or as soon as he does, & Mr. Graham, whether any or the whole shall be presented to the committee. The paper is written with care, and in a manner to throw light on the claims, and in the latter parts, to wound the feelings of no one, while it may, as I presume, promote the general object. I speak of Gen! W. as I have always felt and thought, when under no excitement, and in a way rather to heal wounds than to open them.

My impression has been, that as the question of character is involved, in the whole proceeding, the more my conduct is sifted into and explain'd, in every instance in which it has been at any time attacked, the better. But this I leave to you & the other friends, including Mr. Taliafero, of the House, of which I beg you to apprize him, for his family in all its branches & himself, have always been among my best friends.

In the course of political events, taking the whole range of our affr^s^ into view, from an early period, I have stood, on many points of policy, essentially on my own & distinct ground. If it has been a sound basis, the more the development suggested is made, the better the effect will be. If I am properly sustaind, my views of policy will have more weight, and with that view, the more every thing connected with character, is brought fully before the public, the greater support will be given to them.

If Mr. Gouverneur does not come, in a day or two after you receive this, I wish whatever it is deemed

proper to communicate to the committee, to be communicated to it. I wish you therefore, to read the paper in Mr. Graham's possession, with him immediately. Mr. Clay should be apprized of the references to letters in his Dep^t^ on the subject referr'd to him, as should Mr. Ingham immediately.

I write you in great haste, am
dear sir, your friend.[1]

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

OAKHILL Feby. 13. 1826.

DEAR SIR,—It was my intention, as it was my desire, to have communicated to the Committee no part of your letter of the 13^th^ of Jan^y^. 1803., Announcing my appointment, to France & Spain, and on that principle I acted, at the last Session. From this however, I have been induced to depart reluctantly, by intimations which have been recently given me, by some friends in Washington, that no evidence being shewn, of any particular solicitude, on your part, for my acceptance of that Mission, & prompt departure in execution of its duties, the fact might, and probably would be, denied, in the house, where by an essential ground on which a part of my claims rest would be shaken. I therefore copied the first paragraph of that letter, in the form prescrib'd, by that of the last writer, & gave it to M^r^ Gouverneur, when here last week, to be deliver'd to the Chairman of

[1] From a copy supplied by Mrs. Fogg.

the committee, which I presume he has done. Independant of any effect, which it may have on my claim, the evidence which it affords, of your favorable opinion of my previous services, & friendly feelings towards me, will always be a source of great gratification to me.

Altho my inheritance in Westmoreland county, was small, yet by the sale of it, and the judicious investment of the amount receiv'd from it, in western lands, in early life, and the application thereof, in fortunate purchases elsewhere, & particularly in Albemarle, where I expected & wished to have pass'd the remainder of my days, I had laid the foundation with some small professional aid, of independence, which had I remained at home a few years longer, would, I have no doubt, have been completed. By my public employments, and especially those abroad, this hope, has been defeated, and such is actually my situation, that I do not think that the grant of my claims will nearly relieve me, by which I mean, will leave me enough to exist in tolerable comfort with my family. My debts abroad were great, and my plantations in Albemarle & here, have added considerably to them every year, so that with accumulated loans and interest, compound added to simple, they have become immense. This is a true, tho' a melancholy picture of the actual state of my affairs. I have been led to give it, by the obligation I have felt, to explain to you my motive, for communicating to the committee, the extract from your letter, above notic'd.

With great respect, etc.

Feby 14th

P. S.—I have this moment receiv'd a paper from Richmond, which gives an account of your application to the legislature, for the grant of a lottery for the sale of your estate, to relieve you from embarrassment. I cannot express the concern which this view of your affairs has given me, altho' I can readily conceive the causes which have led to it. They are such as the State, and indeed the whole Union, must feel. I will write to you again on the subject.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Oak Hill Feby. 23. 1826.

Dear Sir,—I mention'd in a letter which I lately wrote to you, that I had seen in a paper from Richmond, a notice of an application which you had made to the legislature, for permission to sell a large portion of your estate, by lottery, for the payment of your debts, and that I should write you again on the subject. Since then I have been much indisposed, with the influenza, from which, I have not yet intirely recover'd. I have been much concern'd to find, that your devotion to the public service, for so great a length of time & at so difficult an epoch, should have had so distressing an effect, on your large private fortune, and my regret is the greater, from the interest I take, in what relates to your family as well as to yourself. It is a concern, in which I am satisfied, the people will take a deep interest, and that the

legislature will grant to you, who have such very high claims on your country, what it seldom refuses to any one, cannot be doubted. As soon as I saw that notice, I communicated it to my friends in New York, and particularly to Mr Gouverneur, with a request, that they would promote the object, and which they will do. I shall do the same to others in other quarters. My motive in this, is, to assure you that if in any way, I may be useful to you, it will be very gratifying to me, to be apprized of it.

TO JUDGE BROOKE(?)

OAK HILL, March 15th 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I have perused several times with great attention, the sketch of the report given to you by Mr. Ingham, intended to be made by the committee on my claims, and now communicate such ideas as occur to me on the subject.

The report is drawn with delicacy and with care, and indicates on the part of Mr. Ingham, the most friendly feeling towards me personally, as it does his very favorable opinion of my services, and the disinterested principles by which I have been govern'd in rendering them. On the principles adopted by the committee, & in conformity with which, he has been bound to make the report, I shall make some remarks, commencing with the items in the order in which they stand.

The first item in the first mission is admitted, being a claim to compensation for the 3 months & 20

days, after my recall, during which I could not leave the country.

2d item for contingent expenses, during that mission. The average of the allowances made to our ministers is adopted. Was any minister ever placd in similar circumstances before? Did any minister before ever employ 3 or 4 assistant secretaries, for the whole term of his service, hire a house for them, with furniture, one or more servants, & entertain them in his family at a considerable increased expense? Was the emergency such as to require it? This cannot be doubted. The crisis between the two countries, as stated in the sketch, declares it, & with great truth & force. My predecessor was not listened to, nor appealed to by his fellow citizens, who ran to me for aid, as soon as I was recd by the convention. I spard no expense, in measures deemd necessary to aid them. There are hundreds living who can prove it, in addition to those whose documents are adduced. Mr. Wm. Lee, in the city, if calld on, can give very detaild & ample testimony to that effect. From delicacy, I presume, he will not come forward unless called on.

3d item, interest, on outfit, to France, Spain, &c. in second mission, which was withheld. This is refus'd by the project of the report, & by the committee.

It is shown, by Mr. Madison's letter to me, of the 2d of March, 1803, included in the documents communicated in the President's message, of 23d of Jany last, that $9.000 were advancd to me "for my

expenses to Paris, including those of a journey from home to Washington, & thence to New York, & in travelling between the places, at which I might be requir'd to attend." This sum was advancd, in lieu of the outfit & would have remaind applicable to the purposes specified, until the termination of the mission, had not the President given a new direction to my services, & to the claims arising under them. Had I gone to Spain immediately after the conclusion of the Louisiana treaty, as I intended, & for which I requested a passport of Mr. Talleyrand, and returnd to the U States from Spain, after the negotiation there sh^{d} have been concluded, the acct. for the 9000 dolls. thus advancd would not have been settled until after my return. All that could be claim'd of me was, on my appointment to Engl^{d} that the balance of those $9,000, after allowing me every fair discount, including the outfit to Engl^{d} which was not, & could not be disputed, should be applied to the current purposes of my new mission. My expenses to Paris, &c. cost me, according to my memoranda, $2.300 including the sum paid for my passage in a vessel in which it was engagd but in which we did not sail. $546. for contingent expenses at Paris, & $4500. were then due me for six months salary, & adding the outfit to Engl^{d} would make the sum of $16,346. I had receivd up to that time, including the $9.000 advancd me in the UStates, $18.195. so that at that period, on the principle adopted on my first appointment, giving me credit for the outfit to England, which became due by the change made by the adm^{n}

itself, the gov^t was in advance to me, the sum only of $1,849.

Take a like view at the end of a year from my first appointment, and I think it will appear that the gov^t was then in advance to me on the principles stated, $340. only. My expenses were met by loans, for it is certain that my mission to Engl^d threw me under the necessity of making those, from which I was not relieved by the subsequent mission to Spain, as it likewise is, that my expenses, after my return to Engl^d, during my detention there for the term of two years and four months, augmented my debts to an amount from which I fear that I shall never recover.

You will observe that in my mission to Engl^d, expecting the order of the gov^t in a few months, to return thro' France to Spain, I was at the same expense, through the whole interval, after my arrival there, in July, 1803, until Oct^r 1804, a period of 14 or 15 months, as if I had been sent on a special mission, and the same case existed after my return from Spain, during my detention in Engl^d for the 2 years & 4 months.

It has been intimated to me, that some gentlemen thought, that the $9000. were advanced to me, as an outfit for Engl^d but this is most certainly an error, for I did not know that I should be appointed to Engl^d until I rec^d my commission. I knew that it was the desire of the adm^n to give me extensive & important trusts, in the then emergencies of the country, but that it would be thus directed, was not

known to, or sought by me. Besides, do not the well authenticated facts before the committee prove the contrary. If that advance was made as an outfit for Engl[d], what allowance was to be made to me for the missions to France & Spain? How was I to get to France or Spain or accommodate my little aff[rs] at home? on a salary alone, admitted by all to be very inadequate for current expenses, after you have taken your station.

On every view that I have been able to take of the subject, after due consideration of the objections made to my claim, I do not think that the advance alluded to ought to be placd on the ground of an outfit, or that the interest for withholding such allowance, until it was allowed, at the time of the settlement, ought to be refused to me.

What the equitable considerations, adverted to by the committee, are, I cannot conceive. If it ought to have been allowed, when the appointment was conferrd on me, an injury was done me, by not allowing it. The manner of my appointment, without consulting me, & hurrying me from home, left me no alternative, as to the acceptance, and in its consequences subjected me to the sacrifice of an estate above Charlottesville, on which the university has been placd, which now sells from $50 to $500 the acre. I abandoned also a profession in which I had succeeded while at the bar, and had the best prospect of succeeding on my return to it. These are equitable considerations which operate strongly in my favor, and which more than overbalance those on the other side.

As to the Crossing amt which the govt was in advance to me, at any time, beyond what was due to me, is that of sufficient weight to justify the claim of interest against me, as an offset against mine, supported as it is by such powerful considerations, a claim never set up, in any instance, by the govt?

I send you a memo. prepard in haste, illustrative of the view I have of this item, and the objections to it, in the commencement of these remarks on it. I send also a statement of the acct communicated to me by Mr. Duvall in 1810.

Item 4th, demurrage. This is allowed. I send the receipt, which you will be so kind as to deliver to Mr. Ingham.

5th, contingencies in Engld—I am satisfied that mine exceeded Mr. Kings. He was stationary. I was minister to three powers, & in constant correspondence, on the subject of each, with the govt & our ministers in every country. Mr. King was there in a more tranquil period also. The average is undoubtedly more justifiable, in this instance than in that of the first mission, but I do not think that it is in this.

6th item, detention in Engld after return from Spain, &c. The claim is allowed.

But the interest on this item, and on the others, on which it is allowed, is to commence on the settlement of the last acct or rather of the acct for the last mission in 1810. Surely the acct of the two missions are unconnected with each other, & if the claim is

just, with respect to either, the indemnity ought to reach the period at which each injury was rec^{d} I stated, in my observations delivered to the committee at the last session, that I left this acct. to Mr. Dawson, to be settled by him, in the best manner he could, & the inference is clear, that if my pay was stopped on the 6th of Oct^{r} instead of the 1st of Jan^{y} when I obtaind my audience of leave, in obedience to my instructions, that a proposition to allow it to the 20th of April, would not have been listend to. It is now for Congress to go back on those transactions, and to adjust them with a liberal spirit, and it is my candid opinion that the more that spirit is manifested, by the body as well as by individuals, the more it will redound to their credit. However, this is for them to determine, and not for me to advise.

I cannot perceive on what ground the non-paym^{t} of my claims can be attributable to me. Had I not been brought into the adm^{n}, I never would have asked the allowance of them by any adm^{n} as I stated in my observations to the Com. last session. The divisions among ourselves, my subsequent mission, &c. renderd any application on my part, improper, even to Congress, at an earlier period & for great part of the time impossible.

Respecting the correspondence with the gov^{t} and its permission to me, to come home, immediately after my return to Engl^{d} from Spain, I should presume that the fact of my having stated it, in the observations which I presented to the dep^{t} in 1810, in reference to that item, & the suspension of a decision

on it, for farther consideration was an admission of the fact and a proof of it. But many letters of mine to the dep^{t} & my letter to L^{d}. Mulgrave likewise show it. What passed between us was, in all matters of a personal nature, in private correspondence, & the fact is, that I had permission to return when I pleased, and staid only, because very urgent emergencies requird it, & the gov^{t} desird it. I had no residence which could be called a permanent one; on my first arrival in Engl^{d} I resided in Winpole street, in a house for which I gave 500 guineas a year; on my return, I took a house for some time in Great Cumberland place, and after Mr. Pinkney's arrival, in Portland place, but always at that price or more, as I took the houses for short terms. All these facts can be proved, if proof sho^{d} be deemd necessary. It is known to every one, who know me there, of whom there are many, that I took houses suited to the station, and being immersed in business of the highest importance, with that, as well as other governments, and presuming that thus attention was in some measure drawn to me, disregarded any expense which was necessary to give weight to the office I held.

It does not appear that the publication of Mr. Jefferson's letter of Jan^{y} 13. 1803, announcing my appointment & hurrying me from home, is contemplated by the com.— I am satisfied that its bearing on my claims in that mission, would be sensibly felt in my favor. I think also, on equitable considerations, that the publication of Mr. Ringgold's deposition, as to

my agency in obtaining loans in the late war, would have a good effect; I merely mention these circumstances, for yours & Mr. Ingham's consideration.

Very sincerely your friend,

P. S. I send you some extracts of private letters between Mr. Jefferson & me, relating to my return to the U States, on my return from Spain, which you may show to Mr. Ingham. The copy of that to L^d^ Mulgrave you may give to him, or rather a copy of it.

As the $9000. would have balanced the acc^t^ had it been advancd me as an outfit when appointed, I sho^d^ not have falln in debt, when the acc^t^ was settled. The refusing me the interest on it, for the time it was withheld, on the principle that I was in debt to the gov^t^ is palpably unjust. To bring me in debt, by withholding a just claim, & so make that debt thus forcd on me, a motive for refusing me the interest for the time it was withheld, is incompatable with the principle on which the acc^t^ was settled. A knowledge that that money was my own, and not [to] be accounted for, wo^d^ have been worth to me more than the interest.[1]

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

OAK HILL April 9^th^ 1826

DEAR SIR,— The committee to whom the business was committed, have recently made a report on my

[1] From the original in possession of Mrs. Fogg.

claims, a copy of which, I have requested a friend at Washington, to procure & forward to you. I regret to find, that it has not met my expectation, either in regard to some of the items, or the period at which, interest shall commence. If for example, money was withheld, which ought to have been allowed me, on the first mission, the interest should I presume, commence from the date at which it was due. I can conceive no reason, why its commencement, should be postponed, until the settlement of the account, for the second mission 12. years, or more, afterwards. I did never ask, an indemnity for injuries done me, in the first mission, of you, or M^r^ Madison, nor could I do it, with honor. To touch the subject, after I came into the adm^n^, was utterly impossible. There never was a period, at which, I could bring it into view, until that of which I avail'd myself. Nor should I have done it, even then, had I alone been interested in it. In addition to the just claims of my family, there are creditors, and friends, who are pledg'd for me, for whom I was bound, to procure every amt: that I thought justly due to me. No more did I ask, & that I have expected. For the money which I advanc'd to Thomas Paine, and for the loans, which I extra: officially made in the late war, I asked nothing. Had I not been minister in Paris, that afflicted veteran, in our service, could not have applied to me for aid ; and had not very extraordinary emergencies occurr'd in the late war, I should neither have been in the dep^t^ of war, or had any thing to do with loans. You will pardon me for

touching on those subjects, and attribute it, to its true cause, the freedom with which I write you in confidence on such as have been, and are interesting to me. I have another motive, which is indeed that, which induces me more particularly to write you this. The Committee requir'd evidence of your permission to me, to come home, in a few weeks, after my return to London from Spain, which I had affirm'd to be the fact. From all your letters to me, I understood, that after the mission to France had terminated, I might come when I pleased, and that the epoch alluded to, was particularly fixed on. I looked over our correspondence in haste, & extracted from it, the few paragraphs, which bore more on it, than any others, & sent them forthwith to the Committee, understanding that despatch was necessary. As they contain nothing, but what relates to that subject, and are in the same sentiment, with the extract, the communication of which, you sanction'd, I trust that you will approve it. It is my intention to visit Albemarle, in a few weeks, when I hope to find your health much improved. I am etc.

TO T. RINGGOLD.

OAK HILL May 8th, 1826.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 4th communicated to me some details of a very interesting nature, which I should have answered by the mail of the next day, but had not time. That the feelings which you represent, and on unquestionable authority, to exist, in

regard to me, are indulged by many I have no doubt. I do not know that any person can serve in the stations I have held and escape them, if he acts independently. I declare most solemnly that I took no part in the election, being restrained from it both by principle & policy. To Mr. Adams & Mr. Crawford I gave proof of respect & confidence by bringing them into the admⁿ. Neither of them gave me any aid in my own election, nor did I wish it. It is known to many, as it is to you, that I could hardly be considered a candidate, having authorized the two Senators from Penᵃ, when I entered the Depᵗ of War in 1814, to announce to the Republican party that I thought they had better put me entirely out of view, for the reason that the country was in peril, that decisive measures alone coᵈ save it, that I should propose them, and that I knew that opposition would be made to them by some, not because they were wrong, but to defeat me in the other object should I be brought forward. These considerations did not operate when the peace took place, & in consequence my friends brought me forward, but still I took no part, but left the result entirely to the unbiased opinion of my fellow citizens. I had made a declaration to the same effect some time before, & given a like authority to Judge Nelson, Mr. Pleasants, and Mr. Gholson, but believing, as they were from the same States, that they had not acted, was my motive for calling on the Senators of Penᵃ, in whom I had confidence, to do it. I mention these things to shew that when I came into the last office it was by no

exertion of my own. To General Jackson I gave many proofs of like confidence & respect during the war, and after it, through the whole term of my service. Nor did I ever express any preference to any one in favor of either of the candidates, wishing to deal with all impartially. Mr. Crawford's friends assailed me at an early period, without cause, impeaching the correctness of the course which I pursued, when tested by principle, & he did not separate himself from them, by any public act, so as to shew that he did not approve their attacks. They stated also that his views were more consistent with principle. To these attacks I could not be insensible, but my conduct to him was impartial. During his sickness the pressure on me was strong to appoint a person to perform the duties of the office *ad interim*, and which, on my own responsibility, I declined. This was surely no proof of hostility to him. I was not the partisan of any of the candidates. Had I been I should probably now receive a zealous support from that quarter. If any support is given to my claims it must be on principle. I have asked it on that ground, and I wish it on none other. If opposed I wish the ground of the opposition to appear, that it may be fairly met, & the motive for it distinctly understood.

Having serv'd long, and been an active party in all our political divisions, & in our controversies with foreign powers, it might fairly be apprehended that an investigation of my claims would excite some feeling with some who were opposed to me at those different periods, or whose views I had not been able to meet

since, in all instances, to the full extent of their wishes. I have however acted on principle, and well know that I never yielded to a feeling of resentment, even towards those by whom I was conscious that I had been deeply injured. If political, or personal considerations excite an opposition to my claims, it is due to the principles of our govt, and to me, in point of character as well as interest, that they be drawn forth in full extent that an opportunity be afforded me to answer them. This therefore is a strong reason with me for wishing that my claims be pressed, presuming that by means thereof the ground of the opposition, come from what quarter it may, will be well understood. My fear is, if they are not brought forward soon, and pressed, that the motive will be misrepresented & misunderstood; that the delay will be attributed to a doubt of their justice, and produce an unfavorable effect. I defy, & am ready to meet any, and every opposition, on any, and every ground, knowing that in all the trusts which I have held I have faithfully & zealously done my duty; have looked alone to my country, & to the neglect, & sacrifice, if not the ruin, of my private fortune.

My situation is very difficult. I have sold a part of my land in Albemarle, & advertised the residue for sale next month, when I shall attend there for the purpose. I have understood that my friends think that the whole amount of my claims may be obtained at the next Session, but doubt of being able to accomplish it in this. Should this appear to be the

result of the debates I hardly know what course I ought to take, great as the difference in the amount is. I have not asked one cent which I did not think myself entitled to on the principle of strict justice, without taking into view considerations of equity, arising from the loans which I made, the compound interest which I have paid for these loans, the sacrifice of property, or by extra services by which much money was saved to the country, & for which I rec^{d} nothing, for expenses incurred in inspecting fortifications &c., and if at ease I would rather lose the whole than accept less. The question is whether it will be most advisable for me to obtain a portion of my claims this session, in the hope that, by means thereof, I may make such an arrangement with my creditors as to prevent the sacrifice of my property in question, and a consequent pressure here. This question involves the interest of my family & creditors, & for whom I have a much greater feeling than for myself. In deciding it, should the alternative be forced on me, their claims are to be regarded from motives of honor, as well as interest. Whether the banks and others to whom I am indebted would shew any indulgence to me, or are able to do it, you, who are better acquainted with them, can give a more correct opinion than myself. I wish you therefore to communicate, in case of necessity, with my friends in Congress on the subject, and to give them such advice as shall appear to you to be proper. I am &c.

TO JAMES MADISON.

ALBEMARLE, June 16, 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I have failed in the sale of my lands in this country, or any part thereof, and in consequence, being informed that there were several persons desirous of purchasing, tho' not willing to give the price I asked, I have advertized both tracts for sale, to the highest bidder, on the 18th & 20th of the next month. My hope is to produce thereby a combination among them, and a result satisfactory to my creditors, and useful to my family. Among my debts is one due to the bank of Virg[a], for the arrangement of which I am compelled to proceed immediately to Richmond, whither I sho[d] have set out this morning, had I not been prevented by the rain, which is heavy, & promises to continue. I shall hasten thence home, and, after assigning the money lately voted to me to banks & individuals to whom it is due, return, by your house, to this place, if the state of my health, which is yet good, will permit it. I did hope to have arranged my affairs here to my satisfaction, & to have passed a day with you on my return, but you will see, by the view presented, that it is not in my power. I shall, I trust, have more leisure at the time specified.

TO COLONEL BARBOUR.

OAK HILL Oct[r] 20[th], 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I had not the pleasure to receive your letter of the 6[th] instant until my return, on Monday last, from Albemarle, after an absence of three weeks,

whither I was called, to meet the other visitors of the University, on its concerns. Since my return my attention has been much engaged by the indisposition of Mrs. Monroe, who was seriously afflicted by the malady, which prevails thro' great part of the State, of a bilious character. Her health is now almost entirely restored to the former state, which is that of great delicacy.

In your friendship I have perfect confidence, having had many proofs of it in the long course of our public service together, as well as in our intercourse in private life. I view also the suggestion which you make of my accepting employment under the Executive, in a mission to our Southern neighbors, in the same light, and am far from thinking that a person who has held the office from which I lately retired should either be precluded the acceptance, or should decline the call of his govt to any other in which it might be thought that he would be able to render essential service, provided he could do it without serious injury & distress to himself. There are however two causes, important as the trust alluded to is, which render the acceptance of it utterly impracticable on my part. The state of Mrs. Monroe's health, which would make it impossible for her to accompany me, and highly improper for me to leave her, is one, the force of which you will readily perceive. The embarrassed state of my affairs, which, if retrievable at all, can be retrieved only by my presence, & persevering attention, is the other. To leave them in their present state would be unpardonable, as well in

relation to my family as to my creditors. Of Mr. Adams's friendship I never entertained a doubt, nor do I of the Administration generally. No difficulty therefore arises from that source. Be assured of my best wishes for your welfare, and of the great pleasure it wo^d^ afford me to see you here, whenever it may be convenient for you to pay us a visit.

TO CAPTAIN THORNTON.

WASHINGTON — 1826.

You were with me in the invasion near Benedict in the course of the late war, & I have to request that you will state all the circumstances attending our movem't, from the time we left the city until we joined the force under Gen^l^ Winder, who advanced to meet the enemy in his menaced attack. The points which particularly merit attention will occur to yourself, but it may not be improper for me to notice some of them. The day on which we left the city, & hour. The number of cavalry with you, & the time & place when the residue joined you, & the place where we halted the first night, & hour, on the next day, when we viewed the enemy. The day & hour when we viewed him from the bank below Benedict; the movem't thence up the river to Nottingham, with the incidents w^h^ occurred there; of what number did we believe the force of the enemy consisted. Did we not establish a chain of videttes in the direction of the city to communicate intelligence to the President of the movm't of the enemy. How many despatches did I send, & from what points—was there any other

chain established, & was not this exclusively relied on? On what day, & at what point did we join Gen! Winder, with his force, & did you not then take y! station under him, with your troop, my agency ceasing. These are branches of the subject which appear to me to relate particularly to our excursion, but others may have occurred to you, in which event I wish you to state them, as I do, and any other views which you may have taken of the invasion generally, & of the incidents attending it.

TO GENERAL ROGER JONES.

WASHINGTON — — 1826.

Misrepresentations having been made of the occurrences, and in the attack on the city on the 24th of Aug! 1814, I have to request that you will be so good as to communicate what you know on that subject, in reply to the interrogatories which are enclosed. You were present the whole day, & an active party in its most interesting scenes, & in consequence a witness of the conduct of all who were engaged in them. It is for this reason, and the confidence which is due to your judgment, honor, & candour, that I make this request of you. While there was any question depending connected with my employment by our great republic which could affect my personal interest, I disregarded the representations that were made of my conduct in that affair. But now that every concern of that kind is settled, and that the establishment of facts can touch me in point of character alone, without detracting from the merit of others, the

motive for reserve and silence ceases, & I feel myself not only at liberty to protect and cherish an object which has been most dear to me thro' life, but consider it a duty which I owe to my country, to place, by the most unquestionable evidence, the occurrences of that day in their true light. The parties to those scenes are now living, and no fact occurred which cannot be attested by the principal officers in the army, many of them in the great dep^{ts} of the gov^{t}, and the whole surrounding country. It is while they are living and may be appealed to in the most direct & authentic form, if necessary, that the sketch, which ought to fix the true character of those occurrences, should be given. Should the parties pass away, and the opportunity be lost, misrepresentations which were disregarded, & not contradicted, may take the place of correct history, & give to the occurrences, & to the parties concerned in them, a character to which they are not entitled.

It is in full confidence that you will have no objection to communicate the intelligence which you possess, on the points to which the interrogatories extend, & on the subject of the military operations of that period that were connected with the defence of the city, and of the neighboring countries, that I make this appeal to you.

TO DR. CHARLES EVERETT.

OAK HILL, Nov^{r} 15, 1826.

DEAR SIR,— I send you the *Intelligencer* which contains the commencement of a publication, which I have thought it incumbent on me to make, explana-

tory of my claims, & which will be followed with documents illustrative of my conduct in some occurrences in which it has been assailed.[1] The residue will follow. I wish you to peruse it, & likewise Mr. Nelson, Mr. Rodgers, Mr. Shelby & any other friends you think proper to show it. I should be glad if the Editors of the *Central Gazette* would reproduce it, & perhaps Mr. Shelby might prevail on them to do it. I shall be over the last of the month, when I hope to find you in health.

TO JAMES McILHANY.

OAKHILL Jany 1827.

SIR,—Your letter of the 16th instt reached me when I was much indisposed by a cold & fever, the sequel of an attack with which I was visited on my return from the university in Albemarle, in consequence of my exposure at that inclement season. I avail myself of the first moment which the improvement of my health hath afforded to answer it.

The disposition which you intimate many members of the General Assembly have expressed to elect me to the office of chief magistrate, which has become vacant by the election of Govr Tyler to the Senate of the U.States, has excited, in a high degree, my sensibility. Having commenced my public service in very early life, under the good opinion & suffrage of my fellow citizens of my native State, and been plac'd in many important trusts by the General Assembly, nothing could be more gratifying to me, after

[1] Referring to his "Memoir."

so long a service in other trusts, than to return to the station which I formerly held, & to the society of those who are now members of that body, & of the descendants of others with whose good opinion & confidence I was first honored, nor should I hesitate one moment to accept the appointment, should it be conferr'd on me under other circumstances than those which now exist. Such has become the state of my private affairs as to render it impossible for me to withdraw my attention from them, even for a short period, without being involved in absolute ruin. Should I accept the office my mind and labors would be devoted to its duties, and such would be the inevitable consequence to my private concerns, the ill effect of which to my family, & others to whom I now stand pledg'd, you may readily conceive. To violate these sacred obligations by even the slightest neglect of them is, I well know, very remote from the view of my friends.

I beg of you to explain to those who have express'd this kind feeling towards me the cause which puts it intirely out of my power to comply with their desire.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL Jany. 22, 1827.

DEAR SIR, — Since my last the fever has left me, and the cold diminished, so that I hope in a few days to be able to leave my chamber, & be restored to good health.

Your remark is perfectly just, as to the impropriety

of our giving opinions, on the subject submitted to us by Mr. Causten,[1] for public use, or any use whatever. We did our duty, each of us, in regard to those claims, in the stations we have held, and our conduct, as well as that of our predecessors, will come into view in the investigation of them, & of the subject generally, &, in consequence, it seems due to ourselves, as well as to them, to say nothing on its merits.

I hear with great regret that the conduct of the hotel keepers has been so exceptionable. The course you have taken appears to me very proper. I am satisfied that the dependant state in which they were placed, on the students, has had a strong tendency to involve them in that dilemma.

I offered to the bank my mountain land, 940 acres, at the price given me by Mr. Goodwyn, & the land adjoining at $10. the acre, and to add 300 acres thereto. They declined it, evincing a disinclination to release any portion of the tract from the mortgage, until the whole balance of the debt was paid, which it appears, with interest, amounts to $25,000. They stated that if I would take a price which they could give, and the land conveyed should sell for more than the debt, they would restore the surplus to me. I then offered to sell the whole to them on that condition, in a letter lately forwarded. The subject is now under consideration & I hope will soon be decided, by the acceptance of the proposal. I am still too weak to enter into other subjects. Best regards to your family.

[1] Mr. James H. Causten whose name is familiarly associated with the "French Spoliation Claims."

TO JUDGE HUGH L. WHITE.

OAKHILL, Jany. 26th 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I should not address this letter to you if I had not the most perfect confidence in your integrity and candour, and also in your judgment and prudence. In times of great excitement to which our system is exposed, the excess of which is one of its greatest dangers, it is natural for a person like me, who has retired after long and laborious service, to cherish tranquillity, & not to risk it, when it can be avoided with honor, and especially in a communication with one who does not hold in my estimation the confidence wh. I repose in you. My object is to do justice to myself, in an instance in which it appears that I have been injur'd, & by a full & friendly communication with you, who, I fear, have been under some misapprehension on the subject. The instance to which I allude is the charge of neglect in not making, while acting in the Dept. of War, the necessary provision for the defense of N. Orleans, when menaced with invasion in the late war, by forwarding to the scene of action the troops, arms, and other munitions of war which the emergency called for. The charge to which I allude will be seen in the *Telegraph* of the City of the 5th of Octr. last, taken from a Tennessee paper, and a remark made by you on the 8th of this month, at a dinner given in honor of General Jackson, for his very gallant & meritorious conduct in defense of that city, "that he supplied the implements of war, which his govt. had not placed within

his reach," is the circumstance which has made the impression on my mind, of the misapprehension in yours, above suggested. The mere statement of the fact, that the gov^t^ had not placed the arms within his reach, without explanation, implies neglect, but taken in connection with the publication from Tennessee, and apparently on the authority of General Jackson, the inference is the more natural. I do not believe such was your intention, nor do I that General Jackson has ever express'd, or entertain'd that sentiment. It seems nevertheless proper that I should give this explanation to you.

I think that I can satisfy you that nothing was omitted on my part, that was necessary for the defense of that city, which the resources of the Union, at that critical juncture, enabled me to perform; that I anticipated this danger of invasion, and provided for it, at an early period, by ordering, in aid of the troops then under the command of General Jackson, & others in the neighborhood subject to his order, large reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky & Georgia, with arms, & every other proper equipment. That the subject may be better understood I will communicate to you the substance of the letters to the Governor of each of those States, and also of those to the General, with their respective dates.

The first letter to the Governor of Tennessee bears date on the 25^th^ of Sep^r^, by which he was advised of the menaced invasion, and requested to send immediately to General Jackson, by such routes as he should prescribe, 5000 troops, in addition to

those which had before been detailed, and to arm and equip those troops, in the best manner possible, according to the resources of the State. On the 3rd of Octr he was informed that the Govr of Kentucky had been requested to detach to Genl Jackson 2500 men, provided the circumstances of the State would permit it large draughts having been made on it for the defense of the Nowestern frontiers. Of the ability of the State to furnish the troops called for the Govr of Kentucky was desir'd to give information to the Govr of Tennessee, and, in case the call could be complied with, the requisition on Tennessee could be proportionably reduced. Octr 10th Instructed, on advice recd from our Ministers at Ghent that 12 or 15000 men had sailed from Ireland, to send the whole force down. On the 3d of Novr he was advised that 5000 stand of arms had been order'd from Pittsburg, with ammunition, tents, and camp equipage, to the commanding officer at Baton Rouge, for the use of the militia of Tennessee & Kentucky, but he was nevertheless still urged to have all the troops sent from his State, armed and equipped before they left it, as that supply would be very limited, even as a deposit in reserve, at that point. On the 4th the information given, as to the order of arms, &c. from Pittsburg, was repeated, as was the warning respecting the menaced invasion. A notice was taken, in this, of the $100.000 which had been previously sent to him to support the operations under Genl Jackson, with instructions to whom to transfer the money. On the 30th of

Jany. 1815, the victory which had been obtained over the British forces, near N. Orleans, on the 8th, by Genl Jackson, was acknowledged in appropriate terms, & 2500 additional troops ordered to his aid, and an assurance given that $150,000, in Treasury notes, would be forwarded to him in a few days, on which he was authorized to negotiate loans from the banks. On the 13th of Feby the brilliant success at N. Orleans was again noticed, with the invasion of the Island of Orleans, as a motive to dispense with the late call for an additional force from Tennessee. On the 14th, in a circular addressed to the Govrs of all the States, the arrival of a treaty of peace was announced, with an intimation that, as its conditions were honorable, it would probably be ratified.

The Governor of Kentucky, was requested, by a letter of Octr 3d, to detach from that State 2500 men to Genl Jackson, in lieu of a like number from Tennessee, provided the State could furnish them, of which he was desired to apprize the Govr of Tennessee, who had instructions correspondent with either event. On the 10th he was advised of the menaced invasion, & urged to hasten the 2500 men down the river, subject to the orders of General Jackson; he was informed also that the additional 5000 ordered from Tennessee would not be diminished, but would be hastened to the scene of action. On the 25th this request was rejected, as likewise that they should be armed & equipped, with an intimation that, if the State could not supply the arms and equipments, they might be obtained from

the deposit at Newport. On November 3d he was advised of the 5000 stand of arms which had been ordered from Pittsburg, with tents, blankets, &c., but still urged to furnish all the arms that he might be able. On Jany 30th a corresponding one was written to him with that addressed to the Govr of Tennessee of the same date, speaking in the highest terms of approbation & commendation of the victory obtained at N. Orleans, and requesting, as the enemy's force was very strong, and their movements uncertain, that an additional number of 4000 militia of the State be hurried down the river, armed with rifles, or muskets. He was also informed that transportation would be prepared for the troops by the time they should be collected, & $150.000, in Treasury notes, were transmitted to him, to pay for expenses already incurred, by the transportation of the troops before sent. On the 10th of Feby information respecting the remittance was repeated, and that transportation for the troops would be provided by the Govt, Col: James Morrison having been employed by the Dept. to have boats built at Pittsburg, & in Kentucky. By a letter to Col: Morrison of the same date it appears, that orders to that effect had been given to him, and also to employ steamboats. Feby. 13. a letter was written to him to the same effect with that to the Govr of Tennessee of the same date. 14th the circular already mentioned, addressed to the Govrs of all the States, announcing the arrival of the treaty of peace, & that it would probably be ratified, was forwarded to him.

On the 25th. of Sept. a letter was addressed to the governor of Georgia, apprizing him of the menaced invasion of Louisiana, and of the intention of the British govt., by means of the enlarged force at its command in consequence of its successes on the continent of Europe, to occupy the whole country from Cape Florida to the Provinces of Spain westward of the Mississippi. To repel this invasion, in aid of the other troops ordered out for the purpose, he was requested to organize, arm & equip 2500 men, & to hold them in readiness to join Genl. Jackson when called for by him. October 10. advice of the menaced invasion on good authority repeated, with instructions to put those troops in motion in a direction for and subject to the order of Genl. Jackson, with whom he was also instructed to communicate on the subject. Decr 10. the same request was repeated in a very urgent manner. Febv 13th he was informed that 10.000 stand of arms had been ordered to Genl. Pinckney for the troops employed in the defense of that section, of which he was authorized to take 1500. On the 14th the circular above mentioned, announcing the treaty of peace, was forwarded to him.

To Genl. Jackson the following letters were written. Sept. 5th. In this the propriety of repairing to N. Orleans was suggested. An anonymous letter was enclosed in it, the author of which was stated to be known, and entitled to credit on the information contained in it. It is probable the intimation was given Sept. 27. He was assured that there was great cause

to believe that the invasion menaced would take effect, in the expectation that while so strong a pressure was made from Canada, & in this quarter, whereby the force of the country, & attention of the govt. would be much engaged, a favorable opportunity would be afforded them to take possession of the lower parts of Louisiana, & of all the country along the Mobile. The troops then under his command were adverted to. The regular troops in the district; the militia already detached from Louisiana; the Mississippi territory, & Tennessee, with authority to employ all the warriors from the Choctaw, Chickesaw and Creek nations. He was informed that 5000 additional troops were ordered from Tennessee, and 2500 to be held in readiness, subject to his order, in Georgia; and also that $100.000 had been transmitted to the Govr of Tennessee, for the support of the operations under him, for any portion of which he was authorized to draw. October 10th. he was advised that our Ministers at Ghent had apprized the govt that a British force of 12. or 15.000 men had sailed from Ireland, early in Sept., for N. Orleans and the Mobile, to take possession of the city and country. —Advised again of the additional force, ordered from Tennessee, of 5000, and from Kentucky 2500, & from Georgia 2500, subject to his order. Octr 21st. acknowledges his letter of the 9th ultº communicating his correspondence with the Govr of Pensacola.—Informs him of the desire of the President that he take no steps which should involve the govt in a contest with Spain.—That a Minister had been appointed to

Spain, & that it was deemed more advisable that a representation of the insolent and unjustifiable conduct of the govt of Pensacola should be made to his govt, than that the General should resent it by an attack on Pensacola. The spirit & tone of the correspondence are approved. Information repeated of the force ordered to his aid. Decr 4th. his letters of 26th & 31st of Octr acknowledged by Mr. Ringgold, & the satisfaction of the President expressed, at the information communicated in them, that the remittance in Treasury notes had enabled him to supply the wants of his army. Decr 7th. refers to the letter of Octr 21st., with the expression of a hope that he had recd it in due time to prevent an attack on Pensacola; ordered to withdraw the troops if he had made the attack, & urged to repair to N. Orleans. Decr 10th. the same request repeated, and new reasons assigned. Febv 5th. acknowledges the receipt of his letters of the 9th & 13th ulto., giving an account of his victory, in terms of high commendation of his conduct in the action.—Instructs him to return the thanks of the President to the troops.—Informs him of the efforts which had been made to supply him with the arms & munitions of war of every kind, of which latter a statement is forwarded, with instruction to investigate the conduct of those to whom committed, & should it appear that any one had been guilty of criminal neglect, to inflict on them the punishment which the laws would authorize. He is advised also that 5000 additional troops were ordered from Kentucky, & 2500 from Tennessee, & that Genl. Gaines was

ordered to join, and act under him. Feby. 13th. sends him the act of Congress authorizing the acceptance of State troops, & the raising of volunteers, with an instruction to raise two regts. of the latter from the militia then under his command, & to appoint the officers, under an assurance that his appointments wo^d^ be confirmed by the President. 16th. the circular, to the generals commanding military districts, announcing the receipt & ratification of the treaty of peace.

All these letters are of record in the Dept. of War. As the epoch of that war was one, and especially that period of it, of the highest importance that our country had ever known, & my service in it was fraught with the greatest responsibility, & otherwise attended with the most interesting circumstances, I took copies of my own letters, when I left the Dept., which I now have with me. They form a folio vol: of 394 pages. Whether they were all received, by the persons to whom addressed throughout the Union, I do not know. If they were answered, the answers are, of course, in the Dept. of War. The usual precautions were, I well know, taken for forwarding them, and in most instances, as I presume, thro' the Dept of the General Post Office. The copying of letters, and forwarding of them is the duty, in all the Depts., of the clerks. That I was attentive to those forwarded to Genl. Jackson is evident from the note, which it is stated in the Tennessee paper, I wrote on the back of that which was intended to announce to him the peace. If the circular forwarded to the other gen-

erals was mislaid in his instance, and other papers inserted, it was the fault of the clerk, & not mine. I had no suspicion of such oversight, or neglect, admitting that it did occur, or should have corrected it.

With respect to the transportation of the men, arms, &c. down the river, every possible exertion was made, & precaution taken, to insure despatch & safety, that could be divined. My orders to that effect were issued to those under me, & in what related to arms, to the officer at the head of the ordnance dept., who, I always believed, has performed his duty faithfully. It will be observed that the governors were all requested to arm & equip their men in the best manner possible, & that those forwarded were intended to guard against deficiences, & to form, with the surplus, a deposit, for that purpose. With the agent at Pittsburg I was unacquainted, nor do I now know who he was. Coming, as I did, suddenly into the Dept., all that I could do, especially at a distance, and in relation to subalterns, was to avail myself of the service of those in office.

At the time I entered the Dept. of War our Union was invaded, or threatened with serious invasion, from Detroit, along the lakes Erie & Ontario, along the St. Lawrence, & Lake Champlain, & from Maine to the Mississippi, thro' the whole extent of the coast. The city had just before been taken, & the public buildings destroyed. Strong naval and land forces were in the bay, & the city was menaced with a new attack. The British govt. relieved from the war on the continent of Europe, had it in its power to send its

whole force here, & we had abundant cause to believe that it would do so. In this state of affairs my duties were very extensive & arduous, especially when it is recollected that I was also charged with the Dept. of State, and was compelled, by the then state of the Treasury, to make loans of money to a great event, to support the operations of our arms. I had a chain of expresses established from the city, thro' Baltimore, to Philadelphia ; another to the mouth of the Potomac, & a third to Richmond. It is well known that, for the first month at least, I never went to bed ; that I had a couch in a room in my house on which I occasionally reposed, but from which, even in the night, I was called every two hours, when the expresses arrived, to receive the intelligence which they brought, & to act on it. I well know that I neglected no part of the Union, and am satisfied, had I been charged with making a provision for the defense of N. Orleans alone, that I could not have done more for it.

There is, in my opinion, no feature in my public conduct more marked than my exertions in favor of the free navigation of the Mississippi, & of the western country. This fact rests on authentic documents, some of which were published in Nov^r^ last by me, & others adverted to in that publication. My exertions in 1786 raised against me powerful enemies, the ill effect of which has been often felt since. To be assailed from that quarter, and from Tennessee, has excited in me the most painful sensations. That injustice has been done me the communication which I now make will, I am persuaded, fully demonstrate to you.

TO JUDGE HUGH L. WHITE.

Oak Hill, Feby. 9, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 29th ult°, and am gratified by the frankness with which you have explained, in reply to mine of the 26th., the motives which governed you in the remarks which you made, on the 8th., which bore on the conduct of the gov^t, & particularly of the Dept. of War, in reference to the provision made by it for the defense of N. Orleans in the campaign of 1814. 15. I shall, in the same spirit, give you further explanations on that subject, & for the purpose of promoting the cause of justice, which I am satisfied you likewise have in view.

I was aware, when I wrote to you that letter, that you were a friend of General Jackson, and that you had long held that relation, reciprocally, with each other. It was the knowledge of that fact, in addition to the motives stated in that letter, which induced me to make that communication to you. I would not have made it to anyone not his friend, and probably should not have noticed, at the present period, the attack made on me in the *Telegraph*, had not your remarks induced the idea of misapprehension on your part which I wished to remove, brought to my view a particular friend of his, one too in whom I could repose the confidence stated in that letter. It is proper to add that I should pursue the same course should an attack like that in the *Telegraph* be made on me by the friends of Mr. Adams, by communicating on the subject with some friend of his, and not with those

opposed to him. I take no part in the question depending between the candidates, and am restrained from it by feeling, as well as principle. I left office with very friendly feelings to both, which I wish to preserve, and if placed in a different relation with either it will be by the acts of others, and not at my instance.

By referring to the publication in the *Telegraph*, the nº containing which I now enclose to you, I did not mean to convey the idea that you had written, or ever seen it. That you had written it never occurred to me. The estimation in which I hold your character places you above it. That you might have seen it, as others had done, I thought probable, but on that point your intimation is perfectly satisfactory. By that publication I am charged, on the authority of Genl. Adair, and in concurrence with sentiments ascribed by him to Genl. Jackson, with the most culpable neglect, in failing to make the necessary provision for the defense of New Orleans at the period adverted to. As you will have this paper before you I need not repeat the other instances of gross misconduct asserted, and insinuations made in it to my prejudice. By stating, in your address to the citizens who were assembled in Washington, on the 8th of Jany. last, that Genl. Jackson had supplied the implements of war, which the govt had not placed within his reach, and had created, as well as concentrated his army, I was apprehensive that it would be inferred by the public generally, especially as it had been so recently asserted, and apparently on such high au-

thority, that you intended to impute to the govt, & of course to the Dept. of War, a failure to perform all its duties in regard to the defense of N. Orleans, & of that important section of the Union at that great crisis. By the general imputation of failure, as to the supply of implements of war, it is implied there were no arms, or munitions of war of any kind, in the city, and, by not explaining the measures which had been taken for forwarding the arms from Pittsburg, & the cause of the failure, it might be inferred that you meant to sanction the allegations against me in that respect; and, by the statement that he had created, as well as concentrated his army, it seemed to be implied that he had called out the force, & directed the routes which the several detachments should take; and, in fact, that the government had adopted no decisive measure on its part. My impression was different. It was that you were not acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, & had formed an opinion which, had they been known to you, would not have existed. I am satisfied that the motive which governed you in making those remarks is that which you state: that you took your impression from what had been publicly reported & written, & for the sole purpose of doing justice to General Jackson, without intending to impute to the govt., or Dept. of War, neglect, or misconduct, in performing what you thought due to him. On this part of the subject it is proper to observe that I never read a biographical sketch of General Jackson, and therefore cannot say whether the authors of such

sketches have taken a full view of the whole subject, so as to do justice to the govt., as well as to him, in those occurrences. I had not leisure for it, & being also well acquainted with the conduct of all the parties concerned, I wanted no information from any writer respecting the part which he had acted in them. I apprehended no injury from that quarter, and was anxious that due commendation should be bestowed on him, for his very gallant & meritorious conduct in defense of that city. I knew that illiberal abuse had been bestowed on me from other quarters, but, knowing the ground on which I stood, I disregarded it. If all the facts were not known to the authors of such works it would have been impossible for them to have done justice to the conduct of the govt., in the measures taken by it for the defense of that city. This remark is equally applicable to yourself. It is an unquestionable truth that all the facts have never been before the public: that the whole correspondence of the Dept. of War with the Governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and others; the orders given for the prompt march of troops, and the supply of those troops with arms, and other munitions of war, were never published. I infer therefore, from the view taken by you, that these facts were unknown to those writers as well as to you. I am sensible that I have been too inattentive to this object, & have suffered great injury by it, since improper impressions have thereby been made on correct and honorable minds who have sought only the truth.

The letters to the Governors of Tennessee, Ken-

tucky & Georgia, of which I sent you a note in mine of Jany. 26th., prove that, on intelligence received from our Ministers at Ghent, and from other quarters, the force was called out, & ordered to march directly to the scene of action, unless advice should be received from General Jackson, before they did march, that their service was unnecessary. Of these Genl. Jackson was advised, and authorized to direct the routes which the troops should take. He, the commander, being on the coast, would best know the point at which the enemy might be expected. Whether he received the letters addressed to him in time to give any direction on that point, regarding his situation & the difficulty of communicating with him thro' the Indian country, I have no document to show, but that due precaution was taken for their safe delivery I am confident. I observe that in the letter to Governor Blount, of the 25th, of Sept., which announced the intelligence which had been received of the menaced invasion, and called out the large force from that State to meet it, he was requested to transmit a copy of it immediately to Genl. Jackson, & that in the letter to Genl. Jackson of Decr. 10th, which was sent by Dr. Cozzens, it is noted that a previous one had been forwarded to him by Major Fanning, a copy of which was then enclosed, & that copies of other letters which had already been sent should be forwarded by the route of Tennessee. As to the fact stated in the *Telegraph*, relating to the contents of the packet which was intended to announce to him the peace, I was as much surprised to hear the report of them as

he could have been, if true, to have received such a packet. By the letter book, which I have here, it appears that a circular announcing that event was written to all the commanding generals, of which it was concluded by me that one had been sent to him. For the neglect, admitting it to have occurred, I could not have been to blame, for a reason given to you in my letter of the 26th. ulto. It is proper to add another, which alone would be sufficient. So extensive and heavy had been my duties, from the moment that I entered into the Dept. of War until the peace, that I had become exhausted by them, and just before that event occurred was prostrated by an indisposition which had nearly taken me off, and from which I did not entirely recover until long after the peace.

I transmit to you a report, which was made to me on the of 4th. Feby. 1815, by the officer at the head of the Ordnance Dept., of the orders given by me for the transportation of arms, & other munitions of war, from Pittsburg, & elsewhere in that quarter, in 1814, for the troops employed under Genl. Jackson for the defense of N. Orleans. By this you will see that, in obedience to an instruction which I gave in person to the officer then at the head of the Dept., an order was issued by him, to the officer acting under him at Pittsburg, to forward down with despatch to Baton Rouge 5000 stands of arms with accoutrements, equipments & ammunition, to the general, or officer commanding the U States troops in that quarter. It is stated in this order that the service was urgent, and that his active attention was required, and further,

that if, according to any information he might have received, it should appear that more cannon would be necessary, he should forward such as he could spare, having due regard also, as I presume, to the demand on the lakes, & north western frontier. This order bears date on the 2d. of November, 1814, and to it an answer was given from Captain Woolly, of the 8th, that he had then ready to deliver 4000 stands of arms, with flints, and cartridges, for transportation to Baton Rouge, & that they would leave Pittsburg on the 7th & 8th, & reach their destination in 20 days. The other 1000 were to be forwarded from Franklinton, & with equal despatch. Repeated calls having been made for information on Captn Woolly, relative to the despatch used in the transportation of the arms, a letter was recd from him, of the 14th. of Decr., in which he states that they had left Pittsburg on the 11th. & 15th. of Novr., & he had no doubt had then arrived at Baton Rouge. By this report you will see, that pressing orders were given to the officers relied on, in other cases, for forwarding these arms down the river with great despatch, and that the utmost solicitude was afterwards shewn, and the proper inquiries made, as to the result, the reports to which were calculated to inspire a confidence that they had been duly executed. By this report you will also see a statement of the number of arms, cannon, muskets & munitions of war of every kind which were reported to the Dept. on the 1st. of Octr. 1814, with the condition in which they were, to be then deposited in N. Orleans. This resource justified a fair and reason-

able presumption that, with the other precautions taken, there would be no deficiency in these respects, should the enemy make the menaced attack.

It is proper to remark that, advice being given to the govrs of Kentucky & Tennessee of the supply of arms ordered from Pittsburg for their militia, the controul over those arms was essentially given to them, & it doubtless was expected, if they could not arm their men, which they were urged to do, that they would have procured those intended for them, and pointed out to them, before they marched, or if they suffered them to depart unarmed, having the arms from Pittsburg in view, it would have been in confidence that the troops would have sought for and obtained them in their passage down the river. The governors of those States were patriotic men. Governor Shelby was a patriot, & gallant soldier of the Revolution. They undoubtedly had a right to take them, find them where they might. No agent would have refused to deliver them up to the troops for whom intended, nor could he hide himself, with such a charge, from the pursuit of those entitled to it. I mention this to shew that, in ordering the arms down for the Kentucky & Tennessee militia, & apprizing the governors of it, full confidence was entertained that they would have been obtained, for the troops of those States, should they want them.

My object in writing to you has been, as heretofore stated, to remove erroneous impressions, by making you acquainted with all the facts belonging to the case. With that view I would most willingly

shew you all the letters contained in the little book which I have here. I have been able to copy a few only, which I now forward to you. By these you will see that the best disposition has existed in the govt. to do full justice to General Jackson for his very important services, in availing himself, & turning to the best account, all the materials which he could command, & by his gallant defense of N. Orleans. The letter addressed to him on receiving the intelligence of his victory on the 8th. of Jany. is a full proof of this fact. My object is to shew that I was not unmindful of, or inattentive to my duty at that great crisis, and such is my confidence in his honor, that I am satisfied he would disdain to accept a credit at the expense of others, & more especially by fixing on them a reproach which they did not deserve. Indeed I have always understood that he has expressed a very different sentiment of my conduct on that occasion, and particularly at Lynchburg, where it is said that he did justice to the exertion I made to call out the troops, & hurry them down to N. Orleans, by means of which he was enabled to make the gallant defense by which the city was saved.

With great respect & esteem, I am, dear sir, your obedient servant—

P. S. I will thank you to return to me the copy of the report of the officers at the head of the ordnance, after perusing it, as I have no other, & likewise the *Telegraph.*

TO THOMAS NEWTON.[1]

OAK HILL, Feby. 26. 1827.[2]

DEAR SIR,—Since the receipt of your letter I have been so intensely occupied, with my arrangement with the bank of the U. States, by which the whole, of my tract of land in Albemarle, at the mountain, which has been my home since 1789; till mortgagd to it, just before I left office, is transferred to that bank in discharge of the balance which I owed it of $25.000, that I have not been able to answer it. As to young Quarrier, my respect for his youthful merit, & sincere regard for his aged father, will induce me to do, whatever I can with delicacy & propriety, in his favor. But you know, that on leaving office, I was bound, to adopt some general rule, applicable even to those, to whom I was most attached, or I should be overwhelm'd, with applications from every quarter. My letter to the bank, by which the arrangement is concluded goes down, by this mail, so that I can only promise you, to write you by the next, in regard to our young friend.

It would afford me the highest satisfaction, to see you, & I hope if you cannot come up, on the adjournment of Congress, that you will find some early opportunity to pay us a visit—

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, April 2d 1827.

DEAR SIR,— I have received yours of the 19th ultº, with a circular to the visitors, announcing the decision

[1] Representative in Congress.

[2] From the original kindly lent by John Boyd Thacher, Esquire.

of Mr. Shay to withdraw from the University, with a request that his resignation may take effect on the middle of August, to afford him the opportunity of being present at the examination of the students, and to lessen his expenses in returning to England, by the correspondence of the period with that of the departure of the packets for London. To this proposal I see no objection whatever. His presence at the examination will be useful, and to afford him the accommodation desired appears to me to be very proper.

I entirely approve of your request of Mr. Gallatin to make enquiry respecting a fit person to fill the chair, vacated by the resignation of Mr. Shay. This is a resource of which we must avail ourselves, provided we cannot obtain a native citizen who possesses the requisite qualifications. My impression is, & in which I think that you and the other visitors concur, that if such a native can be procured, many weighty considerations operate in his favor. An efficient and active gov^{t} must exist at the place, and that can be formed only by the faculty. The visitors live at too great a distance, are too much dispersed, and meet too seldom, for the purpose. Such gov^{t} I fear cannot be formed by foreigners, or by a board consisting of a majority of them. The appointment of natives cannot fail to have a beneficial political effect, both in the education of the youth, and in conciliating our sister States, should suitable persons not be found in our own State. Virginia has had much weight hitherto in the affairs of our Union, and I

think that its future welfare depends essentially on the preservation of the weight, by a policy consistent with that which she has hitherto maintained. All measures which indicate a confidence in other States, & a decided preference of their citizens to those of other countries, will, I think, have a tendency to preserve that weight, & to draw us more closely together, & none can be better selected, for the purpose, than those which relate to the education of our youth.

Whatever you & Genl. Cocke may agree, in regard to the $25.000, authorized by the late Act of Assembly, I am satisfied I shall approve. It would be impossible, I think, for me to attend an extra meeting. My health is better, and by care I hope it will soon be restored.

I have just received a letter from Captn Partridge which seems to indicate a desire to connect his academy with our university. I am not certain that I clearly understand it. I will forward it to you by the next mail. We earnestly hope that you, and your family enjoy good health.

April 3d

I have read Captn Partridge's letter attentively since writing the above, & find that I was mistaken in the idea above suggested. He intimates a wish to afford us any aid, in his power, to promote the object of military instruction in our university, by which I understand a willingness to recommend some person to employment in the university.

TO HENRY WHEATON.

April —— 1827.

Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 16th instant, & one from Mr. Lyman were rec.d some time since, & should have been answered sooner had not the subject on which they touched been very interesting,[1] & I been engaged in concerns, of a private nature, of grave importance to me. Nothing can be more desirable to me, as I am satisfied it is to you, than that the truth should appear in all our public transactions, & especially those relating to foreign nations. In all those in which I have been engaged I feel a deep interest in it because well knowing that I discharged my duty to my country with integrity, zeal and with the utmost of my ability, I fear no scrutiny, but have invited it, in that, and all my subsequent service.

I served in two missions—The first to France of 1794—The second to France, Spain & Great Britain. For my service in the first I was censured & recalled. For that portion of the second in which I was appointed with our late intimate friend Mr. Pinkney, the treaty we concluded with Great Britain was rejected, and an implied censure thereby inflicted on us. In vindication of my conduct in the first instance I published a book, & in vindication of it in the second I wrote a letter from Richmond, after my return, dated February 28, 1808. In those two papers, with the documents, I think that I placed the subject in both instances on such ground as to enable the public to form a just estimate of the conduct of all

[1] The rejected Treaty with Great Britain.

parties in each. So far as I have had any feelings to either since, it has been that of allowance for any error that may have been committed on the opposite side, having the highest confidence in their merit & talents.

In regard to the latter incident I sent to you all the papers in my possession that were material to the object of your enquiries, and I presume you have among those of Mr. Pinkney many of a corresponding character, with his notes & remarks, which cannot fail to be very interesting. In my letters to you I made such remarks, according to my recollection, as appeared to be applicable & explanatory of the case. Of these I kept copies, but cannot now find them, having had occasion so frequently to recur to my papers, in reply to letters from every part of the Union, & in so doing have made a disposition of many which I have since sought for in vain.

In my communications with you my mind was drawn with peculiar interest to the subject in reference to the work in which you were engaged. By a view of the letters which I then wrote to you it is possible that some ideas may occur that have escaped me, I will therefore thank you to send me copies of them before you sail. Mr. G. will relieve you from the trouble by taking copies for me.

My own impression is that the subject is highly interesting in all its views & that mere errors of opinion, sho^d^ such have been committed, & none others can be suspected, should be viewed with liberality by Mr. Pinckney's family, & friends, & me. The opposite

parties are dead, & their fame is of high importance to their country, & to posterity. I have acted on that principle heretofore in more instances than those in question.

I am not certain that I comprehend his allusion to the order of Jany. 1807. Impressment was the cause of the rejection of the treaty.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Sepr. 23, 1827.

DEAR SIR,— I lately receiv'd the inclos'd from a gentleman residing in Bladensburg, who applies for the professorship held by Mr. Long, in case he should accept that w^h^ it is reported has been offered to him in the University of London. I have inform'd him, in reply to his letter, that I did not know that the offer had been made to Mr. Long, or, if made, that he would accept it, but that I should communicate the letter to you, to whom if the vacancy should occur it would be proper for him to transmit, from the persons mentioned in his letter, the documents in his favor, which he intimates they are willing to give.

By Mr. Gallatin's letter, of which you forwarded to me a copy some time since, he draws our attention to West Point, & to our own colleges generally, as institutions from whence we may obtain instruction, equally competent with any to be found in England. This sentiment concurs with that which I formed while in that country on information which was very satisfactory. Should it prevail I should wish that the

enquiry might be made as extensive as possible, and by the best means in our power. I have not written either to Col. Thayer or to Dr. Kirkland since our last meeting, preferring that such enquiry should be made by you, if agreeable to you, tho' if not, I will readily do it.

Genl. Cocke informs me by a late letter that he has rec^{d} satisfactory information, from Mr. Short, of the qualifications of Dr. Jones, in Phil^{a}.—Of this gentleman I know nothing, nor did I ever hear anything until our last meeting at the university, at which time the impression made on my mind respecting him, was, that altho his qualifications gave him some pretentions, he wanted that weight of character, which was necessary for the trust. This impression may have been erroneous, &, as I think it was derived from what Genl. Cocke said respecting him, the inference is the more presumable. If the information rec^{d} is satisfactory to you, as well as to the General, I wish no further enquiry to be made, especially at my instance.

For some time after my return home from your house my health was affected, & that of Mrs. M. very delicate, but that of both has improved somewhat of late, and that of the rest of the family is in a favorable state. The sale of my slaves, &c., in Albemarle, it is expected will take place in Nov^{r}, so that it will be very painful for me to attend there at the next meeting. You shall however hear from me on the subject. The best regards of my whole family to you & Mrs. Madison, and your mother.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Octr. 3, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 22d ult°, communicating the purport of a letter to you, from H. Lee, at Nashville, of Augt 24. with an extract from him, of a letter to him from Genl. Armstrong, respecting his provisional order to Genl Jackson, of July 18, 1814, to take possession of Pensacola on certain conditions, as to the presumed cause of the delay in the transmission of that letter, and the circumstances under which it was received by the General. You think it probable that I have been written to also, on the subject, and wish me to communicate to you any knowledge that I may have respecting it. I do not recollect ever to have heard before of such an order; if it was recorded in the letter book in the Dept., & I ever made it, I have forgotten it; as I likewise have if you mentioned it to me when, by your instruction, after I entered the Dept., I wrote to the General a prohibitory order, bearing date on the 21 of Octr, in reply to one from him of the 9th of Sepr 1814, intimating such a project. With respect to the deposit of the letter on the table of the then Secretary of State, it follows, from what I have already remarked that I have no recollection of it, and I have no hesitation to add, that I do not believe the assertion, if actually made, to be true. I have no communication on the subject, nor do I expect any. I informed you, when we were last together, of a communication which had passed between Judge White of Tennessee & me last winter, respecting an attack made on me in a Ten-

nessee paper, charging me with neglect of duty, in not furnishing the necessary supplies, in troops, arms, &c, for the defense of New Orleans in 1814, 15, and the countenance which he gave to that charge in his speech, on the 8th of Jany. in the city. This subject seems to be in part connected with that referred to in your letter. In any event it will be interesting, & may be useful to you, to see the communication which I made to him on that subject, and with that view I send you a copy of my two letters to him. After perusing them I will thank you to return them to me, as I wish to retain copies, & I have none other. At the time that this correspondence took place I had no knowledge of that between General Jackson & Judge Southard. Mine was therefore altogether distinct from, and unconnected with theirs. When apprised of the latter by Judge Southard, I urged him not to publish it, since the effect would be to involve me in the controversy, and to make me a party likewise in that which is now depending, of a different character & which I assured him could not fail to injure him & his friends, since the motive assigned for it would be a desire to make use of me for their purpose, rather than to vindicate my character—What part they will take I know not, but presume they will pursue that which I have suggested. I send you a letter from Mr. Ringgold, which I have just rec^{d}, communicating to me, at the instance of Genl. Jessup his knowledge of the actual deposit of arms at N. Orleans, at the time of the invasion, of every kind, with munitions of war, & the reason why they were not taken advantage

of by the General, at that interesting juncture. I had an official report, essentially to the same effect, from the ordnance dep^{t}, in Feby. 1815, but I shall nevertheless obtain the document offer'd by Genl. Jessup, since they will corroborate each other. Return me this letter, with the others enclosed. Affectionate regards to you all.

If the acting President or Secretary of State had delayed the letter in its transmission to Genl. Jackson, I should have supposed they would have destroyed it. I can conceive no motive why they should keep it back, & send it to him afterwards, in the state in which he rec^{d} it. It does not appear at what time he rec^{d} mine. Much delay occurrd in the rec^{t} of several of my letters to him, in consequence of his movement to Pensacola, & in the Indian country, as I have reason to believe—

TO JUDGE JOHN McLEAN.

OAK HILL Oct. 1827.

DEAR SIR,— I am not aware that it will be in your power, consistently with your public duties, or, if it should be, that it would be advisable, regarding the present state of the public mind, for you to make me a visit at this period. If those objections do not apply it would afford me great pleasure to see you. There are several subjects on which I should be glad to confer with you, freely and confidentially, on some of which I have documents which I should wish you to peruse. It has been my object since I left office,

as it was before, to take no part in the election between the competitors, & in which I have been guided equally by feeling & principle. I had given to each, while in office, strong proofs of confidence & regard, which I have wished to preserve. To be made a partizan of either against the other, in the pending contest, would be very distressing to me. I had rather submit to some transitory injury, for such it could only be, than be placed in that state, at this time, even in vindication of my character, if to be avoided on just principles.

One incident of this kind has occurred, and is now depending, the final issue of which, from what I hear of it, is still unsettled. I allude to the correspondence between Genl. Jackson & Judge Southard, relative to my conduct in the Dept. of War, in the late war, as to the efforts which I made to furnish the necessary supplies in men, arms, &c. for the defense of N. Orleans, and the whole of that section of our Union, at that critical epoch.

If this correspondence is published, or whenever it is done, it will have the effect alluded to, to a certain extent, and it is that effect which I wish to avoid. To General Jackson I have always done full justice for his gallantry in the action, & good conduct in the command of the troops under him, on that occasion, which official documents in his possession furnish the proof. No pretention on my part has been urged, for, having performed my duty in the best manner that I could, & knowing that the proof thereof existed in the Dept., I have left it on that ground.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL Nov^r 2, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I have this moment rec^d yours of the 29^th ult^o with the copies of mine to Judge White, which I had forwarded for your perusal. I shall take good care of them. Suspecting that there had been some unfair practice, in regard to the order from Genl. Armstrong, or rather his sanction to take Pensacola, to Genl. Jackson, I requested Mr. Ringgold to procure me a copy of the letter of the 18th of July, and of that referred to in it from this Dept., which he did, and which I now enclose to you. The occurrence is, in every view which can be taken of it, a very extraordinary one. I do not think that you ever gave the permission, or order, stated in Genl. Armstrong's letter, and particularly because you never mentioned it to me, that I recollect, and that the order which I gave him afterwards was in perfect accordance with your views.

The letter of Mr. Ringgold was omitted in my last by accident. I now forward it to you, to be returned after perusal. I have rec^d one from him since, stating the substance of conversation between him & Genl. Gibson, who is a confidential friend, as Mr. R. informs me, of Genl. Jackson, & who assured him that any publication that placed him in collision with me would be very distressing to Genl. Jackson, independent of any effect it might have on his views, in other respects. It was inferred by Mr. R. that this assurance was founded on communications from Genl. Jackson to Genl. Gibson. It is certain that, from

political, as well as personal considerations, I took great responsibility on myself in the support which I gave to Genl. Jackson, while I remained in office, and that much occurred which ought to have satisfied him that I took an interest in his fame and welfare. Return me these letters.

I send you a letter which I have also rec^{d}, from Mr. Hay, at Richmond, which, as it refers to you, as well as to me, in an interesting circumstance, I have thought it would be agreeable for you to see, that you may be aware of the object contemplated. I shall write to Col. Mercer in the sense suggested by Mr. Hay, that is, not to include me in the nomination, wishing to take no part in the election. I may glance at you in the same sentiment, but without compromitting you in any respect. My letter to him will be forwarded by this mail. Return to me Mr. Hay's letter. Mr. Gouverneur and our daughter have been with us. They left us, with one of their children, a daughter, this morning, on their return to N. York. They desired me to unite theirs with our best regards to you & Mrs. Madison.

I believe it can be proved that on the 18 of July 1814 I was in Virginia, on a visit to Albemarle. Left Washington on the 5th, passed thro' Richmond, where I left Mrs. Monroe with our daughter, & proceeded to Albemarle, where, I presume, I staid a week, & then returned thro' Richmond, by Moore's ferry, where I saw the enemy's sloops below, & could not have passed if the wind had not blown down the

river. Of the latter fact I informed you, & suggested that Armstrong had not carried into effect the arrangement for the defense of the city which had been decided on before I left it. You informed me that he had apprized you of his correspondence with the governors &c. The suggestion therefore that the letter was on my table the next day with my knowledge, can, I am satisfied, be disproved. I mention these circumstances that you may know all that I do on the subject.

TO C. J. INGERSOLL.

OAK HILL, Novr 25, 1827.

DEAR SIR,— Accept my acknowledgement of your kind letter of the 9th instant.

You judge correctly of my feelings and sentiments, in believing that every proof which is afforded, by my fellow citizens, of their approbation of the conduct of Mr. Madison in public office, & especially in his construction of the powers of the general government in regard to domestic manufactures, is very gratifying to me. The construction which he lately gave of those powers corresponds with his acts while in office, and is a confirmation of the opinion which he then entertained. In that construction I entirely concur. In executing the powers of the government, with a view to that object, I have been willing to carry the encouragement as far as it might be done, without subjecting Congress to the necessity of imposing direct taxes on the community. At that point

other considerations arise which claim attention. I am satisfied that such encouragement, carried to the proper point, will always have the best effect, by drawing us more closely together, & promoting a more active & useful intercourse between the States than can otherwise be accomplished. In this view, however, I can add nothing to the light already shed on the subject.

I feel very sensibly the kind and friendly sentiments which you express in my favor, & in which I have the most perfect confidence. Be assured they are reciprocated by me. Should you, at any time when you visit Washington, be able to extend your journey thus far, it would afford me great pleasure to see & confer with you on many interesting subjects.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Decr. 1, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a copy of a letter to Genl. Jackson, of the 21st of Octr 1714, requested in your last of the 16th ultº. The papers mentioned in that letter were recd—

I send you one from Mr. Ingersoll, relating to your late communication, of your views respecting the power of the Genl. Govt. to encourage domestic manufactures, in reply to which I assured him that I fully concurred in the sentiment expressed by you.

I have received one lately from Col. H. Mercer, in reply to mine to him, referred to in my last, in which he assures me that he will endeavor to prevent any

application either to you or me, approving as he does, neutrality on our part, in the pending question. I cannot now find it or I wo[d] send it — Very sincerely your friend—

TO JUDGE JOHN McLEAN.

Oak Hill, Dec. 5, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I have read with great interest your letter of the 15th ulto. The course which you have pursued in the administration corresponds with that which I had anticipated. I was satisfied that you had done your duty to your country, and acquitted yourself to the just claims of those with whom you were officially connected. It has afforded me great pleasure to find that the Dept.[1] has considerably improved, under your management, in all the great objects of the institution, the more extensive circulation of political & commercial intelligence among the great body of our fellow citizens, and the augmentation of the revenue. This sentiment seems to be general throughout the community, which it would not be if it was not confirmed by unquestionable evidence. By the faithful & useful discharge of your public duties, you have given the best support which could be rendered to the administration of Mr. Adams, & of which he must be sensible. No person at the head of the govt. has, in my opinion, any claim to the active, partizan exertions of those in office under him. Justice to his public acts, friendly feelings,

[1] Post Office Department.

and a candid & honorable deportment towards him, without forgetting what is due to others, are all he has a right to expect, and in these, I am satisfied, you have never failed.

Your view, in regard to my concerns, corresponds also with my own. I shall never apply again to Congress, let my situation be what it may. The only point on which my mind has balanced is whether the republication of my memoir, remarks, & documents, in a pamphlet, would be proper & useful. Those papers relate to important public events, in both my missions, & in the late war, and service while I held an office in the administration. I was charged with a failure to perform my duty in my first mission, & recalled from it, & censured. The book which I published on my return home, with the official documents which it contains, vindicated me against the charge, and on that ground I then left it. The parties are since dead, and I am now retired to private life. I never doubted the perfect integrity of Genl. Washington, nor the strength, or energy of his mind, and was personally attached to him. I admired his patriotism, and had full confidence in his attachment to liberty, and solicitude for the success of the French revolution. It being necessary to advert to that occurrence, in my communication to the committee which was first appointed on my claims, I availed myself of the occasion to express a sentiment corresponding with the above, in his favor, as I likewise did in the memoir since published. The documents published with it prove, in minute detail, not only

that I faithfully performed my duty to my country, but exerted my best faculties, on all occasions, in support of his character & fame. The letters of Major Mountflorence, which I had forgotten that I possessed, are material on both points. They prove that the French govt. charged me with having prevented it from taking measures which it deemed due to the honor of France for 8 months, & that it had withdrawn its confidence from, & ceased to communicate with me at the very moment when I was recalled by my own govt. Major Mountflorence was no particular friend, or associate of mine. I found him in France on my arrival there. He was the friend of Mr. Morris, my predecessor, and, as I understood, from Tennessee. Mr. Skipwith employed him as the chancellor in his office, on acct. of his acquaintance with our affairs, and knowledge of the French language. He passed daily, on the business of the consulate, thro' the several depts. of the government, and was acquainted with the principal officers, especially the clerks in each, and, on that account, I instructed him to make the enquiries to which his reports relate. All the other documents correspond with, & support his statement, while they extend to other objects that are very interesting.

I was likewise charged, in that mission, with speculation, in consequence of a purchase which I made of a house. The documents published show clearly the motive which led me into that measure, as they do my intention to offer it to my govt., on my resignation & return, on the terms on which I bought it.

Being recalled, & the minister sent to replace me not received, such an offer would have been absurd. Besides I was forced to sell it to enable me to leave the country, and even then I lost one half of the price given for it, as I believe in consequence of my recall, & the circumstances under which I left it. An important examination of the state of our affairs on my arrival in France, the seizure of our vessels, jealousy of our views, & distress of our citizens there, & the change produced on my appeal, & presentation to the convention, with the offer of a house, &c., will, I think, enable any candid person, aided by the documents referred to, to decide whether my motive, in making that purchase, was a private, or a public one. That it had the desired effect was the opinion of all my fellow citizens there, who had earnestly advised me to it.

The documents relating to my second mission are likewise very interesting. The call made on me by Mr. Jefferson, the manner of the call, & circumstances under which I left the country, with the losses attending it, are fully shewn, as are the consequences resulting from the mission. These were not known before, & the latter had been misrepresented, and were by many misunderstood. They were never used to promote my election to any office.

This memoir, with the remarks & documents, form a case between my country & me, and being collected in a pamphlet will be better understood, & more easily preserved. If not true in a single instance, let it be shewn. I know that they are true in every one,

and am not afraid of the severest scrutiny, should the proof presented be deemed inadequate in any circumstances. The preservation of them may tend to give a colouring, or rather character, to some of the events to which they relate.

With my conduct in the offices in the city, at the most difficult periods, you are well acquainted, in the outline, having been a large portion of the time in Congress, & in confidential communication with me. You know that I was called into the Dept. of War on a great emergency, and by that emergency, not by any desire of mine. Many circumstances however occurred, while I was in that Dept., with which I wish to make you acquainted, and especially those which relate to the measures taken for the defense of N. Orleans in the late war. Representations have been given of my conduct, in that instance, very injurious to me. To the gallantry, & very meritorious conduct of Genl. Jackson I have always done, & shall do, full justice. I wish however to make you fully acquainted with the part I have acted towards him, in that, & some other instances which have since occurred. By such a view you will be able to judge whether I have acted fairly towards him, and taken responsibility on myself for him from motives of friendship, or acted a different part. The papers which I wish to shew you are original. I do not wish you to come here at this time, and am inclined to think you had better not. If you see no impropriety in it, I will enclose you the papers, which, after perusing them, I wish you to return to me immediately, and without shewing, or

letting it be known to any person existing that you had ever seen them.

On the question of republication, and the subject to which it relates, above referred to, I shall be glad to receive your opinion, when convenient.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Decr. 10, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of Dec^{r} 2^{d}, with the papers enclosed, relating to the application of Mr. J. B. Harrison, to obtain the appointment held by Mr. Long in the University, to take effect at the time the latter withdraws from it. The recommendations in his favor being satisfactory, I immediately apprized Mr. Johnson of it, that he might, on a view of the decision of the other members, communicate the result to Mr. Harrison.

Presuming it may be useful to you to see what has passed between Col. Mercer & me, respecting the measure, contemplated by some persons, to place us on the ticket of one of the candidates in the approaching election, I send you his two letters to me, and a copy of my answer to the last, of this date, which I have authorized him, in a separate one, to shew, if necessary, in profound confidence, to the committee of the convention. In the latter I have stated that I did not know how you would act, should you be nominated, but that I concluded, from what passed between us when we were last together, that it was

likewise your wish to preserve a state of perfect neutrality between the candidates. I observed to him that it would be improper that it should be known that such application had been made to me, & declined, lest improper inferences might be drawn from it, to the prejudice of Mr. Adams, & forming a departure, in a degree, from that state of neutrality. You will judge whether it will be proper for you to write to Col. Mercer on the subject, intimating that I had apprized you of what had passed between him & me, & of the friendly feeling he had shown to both of us. With best wishes to your family. Your friend—

TO COLONEL HUGH MERCER.

Oak Hill, Decr. 10, 1827.

Dear Sir,— I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3rd instant, & feel very sensibly the delicacy of the situation in which it is possible I may be placed. I earnestly hope however that it will not occur. My opinion is made up as to the part which I ought to act in case it sho^d, which is to preserve a state of perfect neutrality between the candidates in the approaching election. While I served in the office from which I lately retired I held a near relation to both the candidates; gave to both strong proof of confidence personal regard, and it is my earnest desire to preserve that relation with them in the future. To be placed in a situation in which I should be compelled to take the part of one against the other would be very distressing to me. I

anxiously wish therefore that the dilemma may not occur.

Other considerations confirm me in this view of the subject. It comports, in my opinion, with the public interest that persons who have so long served their country in its highest offices, especially in the late one, as Mr. Madison and I have done, should take no part in contests of this kind. No questions excite more feeling, or, notwithstanding their importance, are more of a personal nature, than those relating to election to office. By taking part you are necessarily thrown into collision with individuals which will be more acrimonious according to the previous relation you have held with the candidates & their friends, & the nature of the trusts in which you have served. It appears to me, if persons who have retired after such service can be of any use, it would be by bringing them forward in instances of a different nature, & in which their acts would be felt in measures, rather than by individuals. In this mode their service could excite no unfriendly feeling in any quarter, & should any great emergency occur, of which I trust, &, from the prosperous state of our affairs, believe there is now no danger, their advice might be heard, & have some weight arising from their experience in public affairs.

Believing, as I do, that the public interest might be injured, and could not be benefited by my service, in the instance referred to, and feeling that I should be subjected to great pain should I be called on, I repeat my earnest hope that such call may not be made.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OAK HILL, Decr. 16th, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 9th., and readily comply with the request contained in it, to state the reasons which induced me to nominate and appoint you to the office of Secretary of War, soon after I entered that of Chief Magistrate of the U. States. In doing this I must recur to those which governed me, in the performance of that interesting duty, in regard to all the Departments.

As soon as my election to that high trust was announced to me, the manner in which the appointments to all the Departments should be distributed throughout the Union, and the persons who should be placed in them, received my immediate, and most deliberate attention. My object was to place a citizen from each of the great sections of the Union in one. The appointments which were immediately made of Mr. Adams from the East, of Mr. Crawford from the South, and of Mr. Shelby from the West, were exemplifications of my views in both instances, and the refusal of the latter to accept the Department of War, to which he was appointed, left me at liberty, on the principles on which I acted, to confer it on a citizen of any State, in either of the sections to which an appointment to one of the other Departments had not been made. Under these circumstances the knowledge which I had personally of the qualifications of Mr. Lowndes and yourself, particularly for the services you had rendered in the late war, determined me to select for it one of you.

The appointment had been offered by my predecessor to Mr. Lowndes, and for that reason, as I entertained the same respect for him, I thought it proper to renew the overture with a determination, in case he declined it, to make it to you. Mr. Lowndes declined it, and, in consequence, I immediately executed the purpose which I had decided. I do not recollect the conversation which I had with the members who were in the administration, on the subject. It is probable that I conferred with all of them, and my impression is strong that none made any objection to it. I am satisfied that Mr. Crawford made none. I well know, however, that my mind was made up, on great consideration, to offer the appointment to you, from a thorough conviction that you had a just claim to it. You had been chairman of important committees in the course of the war, in which character I had had much intercourse with you, in both the Departments which I then held, and from the consistent, steady and able support which you had given to the measures which were deemed proper and necessary by the Government, in that great struggle, I was satisfied that I could not confer it on a person better qualified to discharge with advantage to the Union all its duties.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Decr. 28, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 22nd. I now send you all

the documents referred to in it, which you will find to correspond with the memo: inclosed. It would be very gratifying to me to know by whom, and from what quarter, this attack on me has been meditated. I am far from wishing you to communicate to me anything which you may not feel yourself at perfect liberty to communicate, by the strictest rules of delicacy; but the hostility towards me is so marked, and unjustifiable, that it might be useful to me to know in what quarter it exists. I have been much annoyed in this way ever since my retirement, which is the more extraordinary because I am satisfied that I have not given just cause for it to any one.

By your letter of the 21st of Feby. last, I understood the papers referred to be a letter from me to you. I have no copy of any other touching the subject, and documents sent to you are so consistent, & in such unison that I cannot presume there was any other. By the course of the correspondence with Genl. Jackson and yourself, my object was to shield him all that I could, and to which I was prompted by two motives—a desire to turn the occurrence to the best acct. for the country, and the interest I took in his welfare, and fame. With these views I finally dropped the idea of any correspondence between you and him, or deposit of any document in the Dept.—making in the message no charge against him, and covering the attack on the Spanish posts, to the greatest extent that I could, consistently with the order given him, which we both thought explicit, not to attack such posts.

The circumstances attending the letter alluding to an understanding with Mr. Rhea, I presume you will recollect. I never read it until after the affair was concluded, nor did I afterwards think of it until you recalled it to my recollection, by an intimation of its contents, and a suggestion that it had also been read by Mr. Crawford, who had mentioned it to some persons who might be disposed to turn it to some account of that period. I send you this letter that you may see every document relating to the subject. I wish you however to show it to no person existing, and not to mention it. I asked Mr. R., in a general conversation, whether he had ever intimated to Genl. Jackson his opinion that the Administration had no objection to his making an attack on Pensacola, and he declared that he never had. I did not know if the Genl. had written to him to the same effect that he had to me, as I had not read his letter [some words wanting] that he might have led me innocently into a conversation in which, wishing to obtain Florida, I might have expressed a sentiment from which he might have drawn that inference. But he assured me that no such conversation ever passed between us. I did not apprize him of the letter which I had received from the General on the subject, being able to ascertain my object without doing it.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN (?).

OAK HILL — 1827

I have your letter of the 22nd, and, in compliance with your request, send you all the papers mentioned

in it, with some others which throw additional light on the subjects to which they relate. I am aware that, in communicating with the person from whom you have received your information, you must do it in confidence, and under injunction which you are forced to observe in communication with me, and I am satisfied that, in apprising me of the incident, and requesting these papers, your object is to prevent an attack on me, which might give me pain, and produce a development which might have a like effect on others, & perhaps a public injury. I am far from wishing any communication which you are not, on the strictest principle of delicacy, at liberty to give, and, in consequence, any more than you have given. I mention these things to explain my motive in making the following remarks. I have concluded that the person in possession of the letter in question, is a friend of Genl. Jackson, and that he believed he might make such use of it as would redound to the advantage of the Genl., and, at the same time, degrade me. I have no doubt that both were serious objects with him. To elevate the character of a friend, if such be the relation between them, is natural, and, if by honorable means, justifiable, and, indeed, commendable. To injure *an innocent* person, for I well know that, in regard to Genl. Jackson, I am not only free from this charge of injuring him, but have done him, in many instances, the most essential services, have sustained him in measures, on my own responsibility, and at great hazard, and much abuse, which, without such support, would have fallen heavy on him, if they had

not had a more serious effect. In assuming such responsibilities I had two objects. One was the public good, the other, the interest which I took in his fame, the friendship which I had for him. The instances to which I allude are, first: his resistance to an order of the War Dept.—2nd: his taking possession, contrary to order, of Pensacola; 3rd: his contest with, and imprisonment of Judge Fromentin—not to mention the proof which I gave him of continued confidence & good wishes, by his appointment as Minister to Mexico. These facts are all well known.

I conclude that it must be some friend of Genl. Jackson because it is to raise him at my expense, which no friend of his opponent would do; or raise him in any form, since it would tend to defeat the object which they have in view. That any of the friends of Genl. Jackson should have been, or now be desirous of injuring me is cause of real astonishment to me. I not only never injured him, but certainly never injured any of them.

I left office with friendly feelings to both the candidates. I had given to both, while in office, proofs of confidence & friendship, and retired with those feelings which it has been my object since to preserve. I have taken no part in favor of either, but have declared, on many occasions, a perfect neutrality between them, which I have invariably observed, and wish to preserve.

What the motive of the person who made this communication was, whether intended as an act of kindness to either of us, or a kindness to me, I can-

not tell. You know his character; may on any of those documents form a correct judgment of it. If you deem it proper, I have no objection to your showing them to him, on your own part, and not at my instance. In this mode it would be gratifying to me, if you should find it strictly correct, to shew them to Judge White, in either manner, explaining to him the cause which induced me to send them to you. I have great confidence in his principles, and would wish him to understand, in all things, the part which I have acted towards Genl. Jackson since the year 1814, the period when a very interesting relation commenced between him and me. As a presumption that such communication may take place between you, it is proper to inform you, in profound confidence, of a late occurrence between him and me. You have probably seen the charge, republished in the *Telegraph* against me, from a Tennessee paper, founded, as it is stated, on the authority of Genl. Adair, with failing to perform my duty in furnishing the necessary supplies for the defence of N. Orleans. Judge White's address on the 8th. of Jany., to the citizens assembled to celebrate the victory gained by the Genl. on that day in 1815, authorized, as I thought, the inference that he was not fully acquainted with the whole subject, and, in consequence, I wrote to him two letters, of which I now enclose you copies. My object in writing them is explained in them. You will, of course, not let him infer that you have seen them, but, knowing their contents, you can best decide whether it will be proper to shew him the pa-

pers in the other instances. My feelings towards Genl. Jackson have been invariably friendly, of which my conduct, in the incident in question, furnishes the most unquestionable proof. The proof was equally strong in 1817, in that relating to his opposition to an order from the Dept. of War, and which was terminated, with your opinion and cooperation, after you entered into the Dept. of War. I send you a copy of my letter to him. I might mention also the case of Mr. Fromentin, which is well known to you. You well know how severely I was attacked on these several points, and to how much inquietude I was likewise subjected.

The course which I now adopt is dictated by motives of personal regard for him. I am no partisan between the candidates, and wish not, by persecution on one, to be thrown, apparently, before the public into the opposite scale.

TO EDMUND TYLER, J. M. SMITH, T. C. QUINLAN, AND T. MAUND.

Jany. 7, 1828.

GENT^N^,—No person felt more sensibly than I did the advantage & credit derived to our country from the victory gained at N. Orleans, on the 8th of Jany. 1815, or thought more highly of the gallantry of the commander, & of the troops who fought under him, in that action. Of this I have given many proofs, by attending like celebrations heretofore, and also by nominating him to several important trusts, while I

held the late office. If the celebration proposed was confined to that object I should readily accept the invitation. It is known, however, that a question is now depending, and with which every movement, relating to the parties concerned, is connected. In that question I resolved, at an early period, to take no part, having had the most friendly relation with both the candidates during my service in the late office & given to each the strongest proofs of confidence & regard, under a thorough conviction that they merited them. The opposing candidate performed likewise his duty in the important trust committed to him, with great ability and integrity, & entirely to my satisfaction. With those sentiments & feelings for both I retired, & it is my wish to preserve them. I cannot, therefore, take any position which may, by inference, arrange me, in the present question, on the side of either against the other. For your kind invitation I beg you to accept my best thanks.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Jany. 18, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I presume you have heard that both of us are placed on the electoral ticket by the convention lately assembled at Richmond. I have received a letter from Col. Mercer apprizing me of it, and also a private letter from Judge Brooke, to the same effect. In complyance with your suggestion, I wrote, shortly after the receipt of your letter, to Col. Mercer, & intimated your desire not to be plac'd on the

ticket, for reasons analogous to them, which I urged in my own case, & which I infer, from his last letter, that he had fully executed, by communication to the members of the committee of the convention, & to others. I have been much surprised, therefore, to find that we have been placed on the nomination. You will, I presume, have seen my reply to the committee of Aldie, who gave me an invitation to attend a dinner there, on the 8th, in favor of Genl Jackson, in which I state explicitly that I can take no position which may, by inference, arrange me on the side of either of the candidates against the other. I assign as the reason those which you gave to the Com: of your county last year, on a similar meeting. I shall be glad to know what course you intend to pursue. My intention is not to act, & the sooner this is made known, the better I think it will be, as to both of us, if such is likewise your decision, as it will be in regard to those affected by it. The position of neutrality being taken there is little cause for much deliberation on the subject. Delay, with a notification of that decision afterwards, may, by appearing to be the result of reflection, be considered as a proof, by partizans, that it was founded solely on insurmountable objections to Mr. Adams, & not on the professed desire of observing a neutrality between the candidates. I have written to Judge Brooke, & informed him, as I likewise have Col. Mercer, that I cannot act, & expressed a wish that official notice may be given me, without delay, that I may give a like answer to it, for the information of our fellow

citizens. Should delay take place, it will merit consideration, as our answer is intended for the public, whether we should make the notice in the papers of the nomination, the ground of a letter to him, and cause it to be forthwith published in the *Intelligencer*, sending to the latter, or to the editors of some other paper, a copy of that to the Judge. I wish to hear from you as soon as convenient on the subject. Our best regards to your family.

TO JUDGE McLEAN.

Oak Hill Jany. 25, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I now send you a packet containing the papers relating to a third occurrence between Genl. Jackson & me, in a trust, to which I appointed him while I held the late office. There was one, which, in the order of time, preceded this, which relates to his service in the govt. of Florida. The other is that which comprises the incidents in the Seminole war. The latter shall be sent to you, at a moment of leisure, hereafter, when I can arrange them. My papers form a large mass, and they are not all, as yet, in the order they ought to have.

You will find by the first letter to him, of May 23d. 1820, that I wished to retain him in service, from a view to his own fame, as well as the public interest, it being then his earnest desire to retire from the army. By the other papers it will be seen that I placed him in the govt. of Florida with the same views, & of which I never lost sight, in a single in-

stance, while he remained in the service. There are two circumstances, in my conduct towards him, of which he complained. The first, in accepting his resignation before Mr. Whitman's call for the papers, relating to Florida concerns generally, & particularly those with Mr. Fromentin. The second, the manner in which I spoke of Mr. Fromentin in the message. On these I will make a few remarks. You will perceive that he had earnestly pressed the acceptance of his resignation, and that, as Dr. Bronaugh had brought it, it may fairly be inferred that I acted, in that respect, in accord with his wishes. Of Mr. Whitman's intentions I knew nothing. The movement then was directed very much against me, &, in consequence, I was not in the confidence of that party, especially as the ill will to me proceeded very much from the support I gave to the General. From the spirit in which the message was drawn, it may fairly be inferred that my object was to prevent a call for the papers, & any investigation into the subjects, the affair having passed, and believing, as I did, that he had acted from principle, according to my best judgment, and also that, being in possession of Florida, and a regular govt. about to be established over it, it was not important to investigate the question how far, in the intermediate state, the laws of either nation were enforced, to the exclusion of those of the other. With respect to the manner in which I spoke of Mr. Fromentin, I do not think that I could have said less, unless I had condemned him. In speaking of Genl. Jackson, I placed him on high &

devoted ground, to which I thought that he was well entitled, and, therefore, gave him all the support that I could. It has been painful to me to peruse the communications which I afterwards received from him, and which I had, in a great measure, forgotten. From the interval between his letter to me of the 19th. of March, and my answer to it of the 30th. of May, I am inclined to think that I hesitated whether I would give any, and, in declining to do it, let the intercourse between us cease. Believing him, however, to be strictly upright, patriotic & honorable, and having already given him so strong a support, and taken so much responsibility on myself in his favor, I concluded, on great consideration, that it became me better to disregard the style of that, & the preceding letter, of Jany. 29th, and to write to him a concise and friendly one as to the grounds of his complaints, which I did in that referred to. He had then retired, which I am persuaded was a strong additional motive with me for pursuing that course. In our subsequent interviews no allusion was made to any of these topics, and the incidents which often occurred afterwards, tended to obliterate the recollection of them. He saw, I presume, distinctly, that I was often struck at through him, & in consequence of the support which I had given to him. You will observe the same precautions, in regard to these papers, as with the others, & return them to me, after perusing them, as soon as convenient.

TO JAMES MADISON.

Oak Hill, Jany. 29, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I have just receiv'd yours of the 23^{d}, and by the same mail a second from Judge Brooke, the purport of which I hasten to communicate to you. He is aware, as I infer, from the communications which were made to the members of the convention by Col. Mercer, & likewise, on your part, by Mr. Cabell, that we will not act, or remain on the ticket, and has assured me, in the letter just receiv'd, that, on obtaining an answer to one rec^{d} from him some days past, if in the sense of that of which I advised you, he will immediately give us official notice of our nomination. In his first letter he requested me to communicate with you on the subject, and to take no decisive step until I heard from you. I shall intimate to him, in reply, by the next mail, which will be on Thursday, that I have done so, & that we act in accord in it. I presume that we shall obtain a regular notification, in the course of the next week, as he assures me that it shall not be delayed, after the rec^{t} of the letter in reply to that of his, which I rec^{d} to-day.

I am aware that a claim to exemption from the service, on acc^{t} of the office which we lately held, or from considerations of private feeling, may not be considered by all as satisfactory. The claim, however, in both views, has weight, and I think that I shall avail myself of it. I contemplate, however, adding another motive, as a public one, alluded to in my letter to Col. Mercer, of which I sent you

a copy, stating that instances might occur in which those who had had experience in public affrs., & by service in the late office, might render useful service to their country, provided they kept aloof from such elections & were held in estimation by the community; that if they became partizans, in elections to the chief office, they could have weight only with the party with which they arranged themselves; that they could have none with the other. I shall, of course state, that I hope no such event will ever occur, but that it is better that persons who have so long served sho^d remain tranquil spectators of the mov'ment, than embark in it.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Feby. 13, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 5^th has been received in which you intimate the expectation of receiving, by the mail of that day, a letter from Judge Brooke. I indulged a hope of receiving one from him about that time, containing the official notification of our nomination, but, instead thereof, I rec^d a private one, apprizing me of his arrival in Richmond, and that he should write me the official note as soon as he could obtain a copy of the proceedings of the convention, from the printer, in whose hands they were. This letter is of the 5th, and, as I presumed he might obtain the papers mentioned that evening, or the next day, I expected to have heard from him on Monday, but I have not, however, yet heard from him, to my great surprise. From a view of the gazettes, I find

that we stand in a very equivocal state before the nation, the presumption being, in many parts, that we wish to remain neutral, but are held in this state for a political purpose, by the committee, who are charged with availing themselves of our names, to favor their object. I think they act unwisely in delaying the notification, & that an injurious reaction is likely to follow the disclosure of the fact that we will not serve. Several letters from friends at Washington complain of our silence. It remains for us to decide whether we will suffer ourselves to be held much longer in this state. What I propose is to wait until Saturday, the 23. of this month, & to allow the interval for the receipt of the promised communication from Judge Brooke. If we receive none before that day to address a communication to our fellow citizens, apprizing them of our nomination by the convention, & of our decision not to act, giving the same reasons for it as we should do, in answer to a letter to Judge Brooke, to send a copy of such communication to Pleasants & also to Ritchie, with a request to each to publish yours & mine in the same paper. It will be well to take no notice of our having apprized many members of the convention that we wo^{d} not act before the nomination, or of the omission of the chairman to give us official notice of it.

If, in the interim, we receive the official notification from Judge Brooke, this plan will of course be laid aside, & the answer be given to him. I hope to hear from you, & to receive your views on the subject, for I shall take no step until I do.

Mrs. Monroe was attacked on Sunday with a very severe indisposition, & is still afflicted with it. We were much alarmed, but she is now considered out of danger. Our best regards to Mrs. Madison & your mother.

TO JAMES MADISON.

Oak hill, Feby. 15, 1828.

Dear Sir,—Another mail has arrived since my last to you without bringing me any letter from Judge Brooke. I infer that you have experienced the same result. It is impossible, therefore, to form any just estimate of the time when we shall receive the promised official communication. I am informed, by some in whom I have perfect confidence, that the impression is daily gaining strength that we mean to serve, & that our silence, if we intend to withdraw, operates to our prejudice, by sanctioning the use of our names, for the purpose contemplated by those who brought us forward. In my last I proposed that if we did not receive the notification before Saturday week, that we should withdraw ourselves from the nomination, by a communication, to be addressed to our fellow citizens of the State. On further reflection, I think that it will be most advisable to address it to Judge Brooke, founding it on the nomination, it being a fact universally known, and on which we have a right to act without further notice. He would doubtless publish our letters, tho' perhaps it would [be] proper and necessary to intimate by a private one that we expected he would promptly do it. Should you ap-

prove this course, it would manifest kindness to him, & the party generally, not to send copies to the printers. We should be at liberty, if he declined the publication, to communicate our act to whom we pleased, in which mode it would become known to the community. I hope to hear from you as soon as possible, with your views on the subject.

Mrs. Monroe is still very seriously indisposed, tho' we think her, as do the physicians who attend her, in a great measure out of danger. Her situation is, however, very delicate, & so much is she weakened by the attack, that we are very fearful of the result. With best regards to the family, Your friend—

TO JUDGE BROOKE.

OAK HILL, Feby. 21, 1828.

SIR,—I have, by this day's mail, received your letter, announcing to me my nomination, by the convention lately assembled at Richmond, as an Elector at the ensuing election, in favor of the distinguished citizen whom they designate as President of the United States. For reasons, which I hope will be satisfactory to you, & to my fellow citizens generally, and which I will frankly communicate, I consider it a duty to decline the trust in question.

After the long and laborious service in which I have been engaged, and in the most difficult conjunctions to which our country has been exposed, it is my earnest desire to cherish tranquillity in my retirement. Important as this object is to me, I am satisfied, if I

become a party to elections to the high office of Chief Magistrate of the U. States, that I cannot accomplish it. In the pending election I have motives of a personal nature, which would make it particularly painful to me to interfere. Having held, in the office from which I lately retired, a very friendly relation with both the candidates, & given to each strong proofs of confidence & regard, it would be very repugnant to my feelings to take the part of either, against the other.

Other considerations drew my attention at an early period, to the subject, and confirmed me in this decision. As a permanent rule I was led to conclude, that it would be better for our country, and contribute more to the success of our excellent system of government, that those who have held the office of Chief Magistrate, should abstain, after their retirement, from becoming partisans in subsequent elections to that office. Instances may occur in the course of time, in the vicissitude of human affairs, in which the opinion of those who have had long experience may be useful. Every government that has existed has been exposed to trying emergencies. All those which were strictly republican have been subverted. Ours will, I trust, experience a different fate. Should an emergency of any kind ever occur, it may be important that there should be among the people some men unconnected with either of the contending parties, and among them, those who have retired from that high office, whose voice might be heard. To render service they must enjoy, in like degree, the confidence of the whole community, in

their disinterestedness, & impartiality. If they embark as partisans, on either side, they would have no weight with the other. By remaining neutral it might be otherwise.

On full consideration before my retirement, I concluded that the course suggested would be best adapted to my own peace & tranquillity, &, as a permanent rule, contribute most to the welfare of my country. Under that conviction, I then formed the decision stated, have frequently declared it, and cannot depart from it.

TO JUDGE BROOKE.

March 3, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I am called on almost daily, for information whether I have received the official notification of my nomination on the electoral ticket, and whether the answer corresponds with the neutrality, between the candidates, which I have invariably professed, and, if it does, why I do not publish it. By the delay in announcing the answer of Mr. Madison & myself, and our silence, improper inferences are drawn, and we are charged with departing from neutrality. You will be sensible that we owe something to the consistency of our own characters, and that we should no longer be held in a doubtful light before the public. I have wished to take no step on my own part, trusting that you would do justice to me in this respect. I now write earnestly to request that you will immediately make known our answers, since a publication of our decision, otherwise than by yourself, and which

must be made, if longer delayed, might indicate a dissatisfaction with you, which I should be sorry to shew.

P. S. To delay the publication of our answers, until answers are received from the other persons, will not be admitted by the public as a sufficient cause for it, as it is known that our nomination was made, in consequence of the office we had held. I most earnestly advise you, therefore, to publish it immediately.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OAK HILL, March 16, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 8th, with the papers noticed in it, and am glad to hear that my letter to you, of the 9th of Sepr. 1818, was that which some individuals had purloined, & were endeavoring to pervert to a mischievous purpose. I was not aware of any other paper, that was sanctioned by me, even in the form of a note, or memo., while the subject was under consideration, that would admit of the slightest shade of doubt, as to my views of justice, & of policy, and likewise of my feelings, thro' the whole of that interesting occurrence. I received the papers by Major Hambly at this place, and made up my mind, on a view of the whole subject, in all its relations, foreign & domestic, as to the part I ought to act in it, before I returned to the city. Our relations with Spain, the peace & tranquillity of our whole southern & western country, and the character of our commander, were involved in the decision. In our

affairs with Spain I had long had an agency, both at home & abroad, and was well acquainted with the improper conduct of her government, in every instance, as I likewise was with that of her officers in Florida. The blow was struck by our officer, and the point to be decided was, whether the abandonment of him, with apologies and concessions to Spain, or the support of him, with the crimination of the Spanish officers, without a compromitment of ourselves, would be most consistent with justice, redound most to the honor of the country, and likewise promote most effectually its best interests. I well remember that, on a full development of my views on these points, I had no difficulty with the Cabinet. The difficulty which I had to encounter was of a different kind, & arose from another quarter. It was to sustain the proceeding in Florida, in the attack on the Spanish posts, in breach of an order, without making ourselves responsible in like degree, as if an order to make the attack had been given. That the attack was in breach of an order admits, in my judgment, of no doubt; for why was the order which had been given to General Gaines sent to him, if it was not to be equally binding on him. What right had he, as you justly observe, in your letter to me of the 12th. of Sepr., in reply to mine of the 9th. to enter the Spanish territory, if he did not derive it from the order referred to? He was instructed, it is true, to terminate the Seminole war, but in what manner? Not by an attack on the Spanish posts. The government had no right to give such an order, and nothing

beyond the power of the government could be authorized by implication. The Seminoles alone were mentioned, & the war with them would have been as much terminated by driving them into the Spanish posts, as by taking the posts, unless Spain, by justifying the shelter thus afforded them, became a party to the war, and, in which case, it would have assumed a new character, & acquired a new force. The order given to Genl. Gaines, which was binding on Genl. Jackson, was adequate to the end, without making such attack. It was to pursue the Indians, while in the field, to the very confines of those posts, but if they should be received within them, by the officers of Spain, to stop there, & report the case to this govt. By driving them into the posts, the power of the Seminoles would have been crushed, and the war with them terminated, and, by receiving them into the posts, the compromitment of the Spanish officers, for stimulating the Indians to the war, & aiding them in it, and of the govt. itself, if it did not disavow the act, & make reparation for the injury, would have been complete. All the advantage to be derived from an attack on the posts would thus have been gained, without risk, while, by our moderation & forbearance, we should have had Spain more completely in our hands, and have avoided all the difficulty to which we were exposed, by the charge of having committed a breach of the Constitution.

My first letter to Genl. Jackson, of the 19th of July, gave a full development of these views in all their details, and indicated, what actually existed on

my part, the most friendly disposition towards him, and a desire to give him all the support that I could, consistent with the Constitution, with the interest of the Union, and with facts as they had occurred. With that sentiment my subsequent conduct, in every stage, corresponded. When he asserted his rights, under his instructions, to attack the Spanish posts, I wished him to deposit a document to that effect in the Dept. of War, in his vindication. Afterwards, when I found that I might be able to justify the measure, and to shield him, without incurring any responsibility for the attack, I did so, and thus avoided imputing to him any misconduct whatever. The correspondence with him, without taking into view that with you, is direct & full to this effect. My letters to him shew that a vindication of him, to be deposited in the Dept. of War, notwithstanding the imputation which it would raise against me, was sought by me, for his own sake, and my letter to you, of the 9th of Sepr., was in strict accord with that correspondence, and necessary, and intended, to give effect to it.

By this course of proceeding I took great responsibility on myself for General Jackson, especially as the result with Spain was uncertain. By the message which announced the proceeding to Congress, I found it necessary to use very conciliatory language towards Spain, to exculpate her from all blame in the proceeding, and to throw it altogether on her officers. This was necessary to moderate her resentment for the outrage, & to justify our conduct to the allied

powers, to whom, in the then state of the world, attention was due. Had the attack not been made on her posts the ground which we should have occupied would have been very different. Her responsibility would have been complete, & we might have used very different language towards her, but by the attack, she occupied, in certain respects, the vantage ground. Thro' the whole of this occurrence, in every stage & step, I acted in perfect harmony with you, as I did in every other relating to Genl. Jackson, particularly in that with the Dept. of War, and likewise in that with Mr. Fromentin. In what instance, I would ask his best friends, did I ever shew an unkind feeling towards him? That I have gone too far in his support, has been questioned by some of mine, and been made a charge against me by others. That I never did go further than I was justified, in my own judgment, by a faithful regard to the Constitution, and the interest of my country, is certain. That there should have been any necessity for a vindication of my character, against the charge of hostility to him, from any quarter, and especially by an attempt to injure him by an unmanly & underhanded stroke, was what I did not anticipate. To defend myself against some of his enemies, who charged me with indulging a partiality in his favor, to the injury of the country, was one which I expected, & readily met. To have to do it with his friends, and more especially with himself, against charges of the kind alluded to in the very instances relied on by his enemies for an opposite purpose, was as unexpected as

it was painful to me. These instances, however, have not changed my conduct, nor, in truth, my disposition towards him. From the practices of artful & unprincipled men I have heretofore suffered much, and have therefore made allowances in his favor. Believing the basis of his character to be pure, upright and honorable, I have, in regulating my own conduct by those principles, which I revere, looked to that object alone, in what relates to him, and respected it.

I make these remarks to you in the confidence of private friendship, and with a knowledge that you indulge the same feelings towards him that I have done. I certainly would not enter so fully into the subject to any one not his friend, & in whom I could not repose entire confidence.

I send you a copy of my memoir, which has been republished under the direction of my friends in Albemarle, who have reserved a certain number for me. I had forgotten that I possessed many of the documents until, on a late reference to papers of ancient date, I found them. You will, I think, find them interesting, in a public view, as well as in reference to myself.

TO JUDGE McLEAN

March 18, 1828.

I now send you the papers relating to another interesting occurrence between Genl. Jackson & me, while I held the office from which I lately retired. It is that respecting his attack on the Spanish posts in the

Seminole war, and, as Mr. Calhoun & I supposed, in repugnance to the orders given to him. Our idea was that he had no right to attack them without a positive order to that effect, as it made an attack on Spain, which might involve us in the war, & was, in fact, making war on her. The Executive had no right to give such an order. None was given, & the order sent to him, which had been given to Genl. Gaines, was a positive order to abstain from such attack, altho' the Indians sho^d^ be received in those posts. He was instructed to follow them to the borders of the posts, & to stop them, & report the case to the govt. By so doing the war with the Seminoles would have been terminated, & Spain deeply compromitted, by the misconduct of her officers [word obliterated by blot] much in our hands. By attacking the posts, the relation between the gov^ts^ was changed. We were compromitted, & I was forced, in the message announcing the proceedings, to use very conciliatory language towards Spain, to exculpate her altogether, & throw the whole blame on her officers. By the attack we gained nothing, & risked much, as there was danger of war with Spain, & of the allies joining her in it, at the critical epoch of our affairs.

By a view of the correspondence, & of the message announcing the proceedings, you will be able to decide what my disposition has been toward Genl. Jackson.

I have wished you to see the documents, in these several instances, for your own satisfaction, to be communicated to no one. I believe him to be a gallant, upright & honorable man; that he has ren-

dered useful service, & have taken a great interest in his welfare, & still do. I am no partisan, for reasons before the public, & with which you were before acquainted, in the pending question. I sho^d^ be glad, were it in my power, to shew a kindness to each, & am incapable of doing an injury to either. You will return these papers to me after perusing them.

My friends in Albemarle have had my memoirs republished in a pamphlet, & reserved for me a number of copies, of which I will send you one in a few days.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, March 28, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive yours of the 20^th^ by yesterday's mail. The letter from the Governor, communicating our re-appointment as visitors of the University, and requiring a meeting of the board on the first Monday in the next month, I had receiv'd, as I had one from Mr. Cabell, apprizing me that it was a mere measure of form, in complyance with the law, & there would be no necessity for the meeting. I was very glad to receive the latter communication, as it would have been impossible for me to have attended on account of the continued indisposition of Mrs. Monroe. Her attack has been more severe than any she had before experienced. She is now however so far recovered as to move about her room, & we hope, when quite restored, that it will be to better health than she has enjoyed for several years.

The incident with the Richmond convention has given us both much trouble. The difficulty we had to encounter was to answer calls from the other side which should declare our neutrality, and not compromit the nominators. I hope that we shall hear no more of it.

I am sorry to hear of the embarrassment which has occurred at the University, but trust that the cause will soon be removed, by the appointment of a professor, to the vacant chair, competent to its duties, & willing to serve. I have a late letter from Mr. Brougham, the object of which was to make me acquainted with Capt^n^ Hall, in which he touches on the subject of education generally, for the improv'ment of all classes, but says nothing of the affair respecting Mr. Long.

I send you a copy of my memoirs, which has been reprinted in a pamphlet, under the direction of my friends in Albemarle. I have sold my slaves in that county to Col. White of Florida, who will take them in families to that territory. He gives me for them (with the exception of a few sold there) five thousand doll^rs^, which are paid by obtaining for me a return in that amount from J. J. Orton, for a loan obtained of him in the late war, offer'd by himself, on hearing that I was pressed for money.

The best regards of my family to Mrs. Madison & your mother—

TO MAJOR HENRY LEE.

Oak Hill, April 23, 1828.

Sir,— I have received your letter of March 30th, and hasten to answer it, by communicating my views on the subject to which it relates. You intimate that you are preparing for the public a life of Genl. Jackson, and ask me whether I considered him authorized, by his instructions, to attack the Spanish posts, in the Seminole war, in the event that the Indians should be defeated, and retreat, and be received within those posts. I declare to you explicitly that my impression was, & is, decidedly different. For a long time I hesitated whether I would authorize the entry of our troops, in pursuit of the Seminoles, within the Florida line, but at length decided in its favor, and gave an order to that effect, but in a guarded manner, so as to preclude an attack on the Spanish posts. Genl. Gaines, who then commanded, and to whom the order was given, was authorized to attack them within the limits of Florida, and to pursue them to the posts, but, should they find shelter under those posts, not to attack them there, but to report the case immediately to the Dept. of War. This policy was never changed, nor was the order changed. It was transmitted to Genl. Jackson, with intention that it should be equally obligatory on him, after Genl. Gaines was ordered on another duty, & the command transferred to Genl. Jackson. The object, from the commencement, was to terminate the Seminole war, and the means, in connection with the powers of this Executive, & the relations of the U. States with Spain, & other powers,

were maturely weighed, as was every step that was taken, and were equally applicable to both those officers.

After the attack was made, & the report from the General received, my object was to turn it to the best account I could, for the country, & the honors of the General, consistent with my own views, & those of the Secretary of War, & of the Executive generally, & I did everything, in my power, to accomplish that end. No censure was ever laid at his door on my part, nor any suggestion made against him to imply censure. I took the measure upon myself, so far as I could consistently with the powers of the Executive and the facts which had occurred, & threw the blame on the Spanish officers, who well deserved it, and exonerated him. My views were fully explained in a friendly private correspondence with Genl. Jackson, which I presume he has preserved

As soon as I perceived, by his reply to my first communication, that he had construed his instructions differently, & that he felt some solicitude on that head, it was my earnest desire that he should pursue the course which he deemed most proper, in support of his own conduct, unrestrained by any consideration relating to me. With that view, I suggested the propriety of preparing a paper to that effect, & depositing it in the Dept. of War, to be communicated to Congress with the other papers relating thereto. Why this was not done the correspondence referred to will fully explain. You will perceive that no difficulty arose on my part respecting it. I still have the same

wish on this subject — that Genl. Jackson's views be adopted, that every fact, or argument, which he considers necessary to explain his motives, & do justice to his conduct & character, may be urged in his favor.

In the course of my public service in the Administration, other interesting incidents occurred between Genl. Jackson & me, which will, I presume, come into view in the work in which you are engaged. Should explanations be desired on any point, it will give me pleasure to afford them, with the documents necessary to their illustration, so far as I may possess them.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, May 31, 1828.

DEAR SIR,— I enclose to you two letters, one from Mr. Tracie, soliciting the professorship held by Mr. Long, when he retires from it, & the other from Mr. Du Ponceau, in support of his application, and likewise a third, to the same effect, from Mr. Peters, a son of Judge Peters, which last is rather of a private nature, but which I submit to your view. With the characters of Mr. Du Ponceau & Mr. Peters you are well acquainted, so that I need add nothing in their favor.

Mrs. Monroe has, as you know, been much afflicted with a long & severe indisposition, from which she has of late so far recovered as to be able to take exercise in the carriage. Mr. Gouverneur and our daughter in New York have earnestly pressed her to

make them a visit, in the belief that it will contribute to the more complete restoration of her health, and from an anxious desire to see her. I consider it a duty in me to accompany her, & we propose to depart hence on the first of June, taking our g^d^ daughter, Hortensia, with us. I have long wished to make this visit, but have been prevented by causes which you can readily conceive. I see no motive, however, for declining it longer, unless I abandon the idea of visiting our daughter, & the whole connection there forever, which I shall not do. My intention is to reach the City on the second day; to stay there one night, & proceed for Baltimore the next morning. On the day of my arrival in the City I shall call & pay my respects to the President, an attention due to the gov^t^, & the friendly relation which has so long existed between us. I shall move on as fast as Mrs. Monroe's health will permit, in the hope of arriving in New York the latter end of the week. I intend to return in time to attend the University on the 15th. of July, the day appointed for our meeting there, taking your house, of course, in the route. Our best regards to Mrs. Madison & your mother.

TO JAMES MADISON.

NEW YORK, June 16, 1828.

DEAR SIR,— I received yours of the 3^rd^ instant a few days after our arrival here, and shall profit of the information you have given me, that the meeting of the Visitors takes place on the 10^th^, & not the 15^th^ of

next month, at the University, as I had supposed. It is my intention to depart hence for Loudon in time to enable me to make arrangements for the harvest, & other concerns there, & to reach the University at the time appointed.

I enclose to you a letter from Mr. Hassler, who is a candidate for the professorship of natural philosophy, & who states his claims in the letter.

Mrs. Monroe suffered by fatigue the last day of our journey, but has, in a great measure, recovered from it, and we indulge a strong hope that our visit to Mr. Gouverneur & our daughter will restore her health. They reside at a cottage 9 miles from the city, on very elevated ground, near Fort Washington, & we are with them.

TO MAJOR HENRY LEE.

OAK HILL, July 3, 1828.

SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive on the 22nd of June, in New York, your letter of the 24th of May, expressing a desire to be made acquainted with the private correspondence between Genl. Jackson and me, respecting the powers granted to him by the Govt., for the management of the Seminole war, with an intimation that the General would communicate it to you if I desired it. In my reply to that letter, on the ensuing day, I expressed an anxious hope that he would submit to your view, the correspondence on that incident, and on several others of an interesting nature, which had occurred between us during my

service in the Administration. I promised also to state to you, on my return home, the incidents alluded to, and the papers, a knowledge of which will be necessary to do justice to the subject, in each instance. I arrived here on the Second, and shall be compelled to depart for the University near Charlottesville on the 5th, to attend a meeting of the visitors there, and having, in the interim, many private concerns to arrange, I fear that I shall not be able to fulfil my promise in the manner I could wish. It is under these circumstances that I make to you this communication.

The papers relating to the Seminole war are those which you particularly wish to peruse. Those immediately between Genl. Jackson and me are the following: 19 July, 1818, my letter to Genl. Jackson, on the receipt of the communication by Mr. Hambly, containing a report of the result of the campaign. I addressed this letter to him, in which I stated that he had transcended his instructions, and explained fully my views on the subject.

19 of August, he replied to that letter in one in which he asserted his right to attack the Spanish posts, and stated his reasons for it.

Oct. 20. I expressed regret that he had misconstrued his powers, and proposed that he should state his conception of them, in a paper, to be deposited in the Dept. of War, in his defense.

15 Nov. He wishes the proposed correspondence, to which he consents, to commence with the Secretary of War.

17 Dec. He highly approves the Message.

21 Dec. I inform him that the proposed correspondence with the Secretary of War was unnecessary.

The following are the instructions which were given for the prosecution of the war.

17 Oct. 1817. letter to Genl. Gaines prohibitting him to pass the Florida line.

2 Dec. Same order repeated.

16 Dec. Authority given to enter Florida, and pursue the Indians to the Spanish posts, but to stop there. These letters were written by Mr. Graham.

9 Dec. Mr. Calhoun reviews these instructions to Genl. Gaines, and likewise on the 16th., with power to cross the line, but ordering him, in the event of the Indians sheltering under the Spanish posts, not to attack them, but report the case to the Dept. of War.

26 Dec. Mr. Calhoun to Genl. Jackson — transferred to him the command, & sent him copies of the instructions which had been given to Gaines.

This sketch is taken from notes in my possession, which I believe to be correct, and that the originals may be found among the public documents relating to the occurrence.

The other incidents which occurred between Genl. Jackson & me are the following : 1st. The measures taken by the Govt. for the supply of troops, arms, &c., for the defense of N. Orleans in 1814, 15. 2d. That relating to the difference with the Dept. of War. 3rd. The affair with Judge Fromentin.

1st. My correspondence with Judge White, which grew out of remarks which he made on the 8th. of

Jany. 1826, will give all the light which belongs to this case. I wrote to him, knowing that he was a friend of Genl. Jackson, and having full confidence in his discretion, honor and integrity. The Judge can, I presume, have no objection to your perusing that correspondence, which is founded on official documents now in my possession.

2d. My correspondence with Genl. Jackson furnishes all that belongs to this. It commenced (the occurrence) before I entered the office of Chief Magistrate. My reply, to his letter to me which was received just before my departure to the East for the inspection of the maritime frontier, was written, from the steamboat on the Chesapeake, in 1817, in a concise and friendly manner. My next letter to him was from Sackets Harbour, of the 4th of August ensuing, and the one which I had promised in those, was written on my return home, on the 5th. of October, of that year, in which I gave my full view of the powers of the President to give the orders in question, and the errors of the Genl. in opposing them. His other letters to me on the subject are of Augt. 4th, Oct. 22nd, & Dec. 20th, and my last letter to him is of the 28th, in which I apprised him of the manner in which the affair was arranged, and in which great regard was shewn to his honor & character.

3rd. incident. The material papers relative to it are my Message to Congress of Dec. 1821 ; his to me of March 19, 1822, & mine to him, of May 30th, and his to me, of July 26., of that year.

On these incidents I have not time to enlarge. I

shall simply remark that if, in a spirit of amity for Genl. Jackson, and in a desire to promote his honor & advance his fame, I incurred great responsibility, & exposed myself to severe attacks from his enemies, it would be hard if these instances, of accommodation & friendly regard for him, should be urged as errors in the Executive, & to my discredit. Unless the real ground & principle on which I acted, in each instance, is seen and respected, it is impossible that justice should be done to me, or to him. Knowing, however, all the circumstances, in each instance, by a view of the private correspondence, & documents referred to, you may do justice to him, without imputing anything injurious to me.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OAK HILL, August 4, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—On my return here two days since from Albemarle, whither I had been to attend a meeting of the visitors of the University, and a convention on the subject of internal improvement, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th ulto., in which you communicate an extract of a letter from Genl. Jackson to you, relating to me, as well as yourself, in a very interesting occurrence. Having had a further communication with Major Lee on that subject, since you left the city, I shall herewith send you copies of the letters which have passed between us. It is proper that you should have a knowledge of this correspondence, because you are interested in it. I have another strong motive for transmitting to you

a copy of it. I wish you to be thoroughly acquainted with my conduct towards Genl. Jackson in every stage, and in every circumstance, in all the important occurrences alluded to. With these occurrences, in all the preceding details, you are so well acquainted that I need add nothing on either. It is certain that, unless the documents alluded to, in regard to supplies sent down the Mississippi for the defense of N. Orleans, and the private correspondence in the subsequent instances enumerated, are seen and duly weighed, it is impossible to do justice to the subject in either instance. The defense of N. Orleans, & the victory which he gained, turned on the supplies thus forwarded, and in which he had no agency, being engaged in an attack on Pensacola; and the arrangement made, and the motive to it, in his affair with the Dept. of War, can be understood only by a view of the correspondence between him & me, on the subject. The same remark is applicable to the incidents which occurred in the Seminole war. In the two latter instances I thought him decidedly wrong, and so declared in my letter to him. But, by the view which has been presented by his friends, and my silence, it might be inferred that I admit the contrary. It is certain that in those great occurrences, nothing was said against him by me; on the contrary, that I sustained him to the utmost extent that I could, without admitting facts, in all, which were unfounded, and assuming, in the last, a power in the Executive which did not belong to it; a right to order an attack on the Spanish posts.

I very sincerely regret the proceeding to the South, alluded to in your letter respecting the late law for the encouragement of manufactures, as well from the feeling I bear to the parties who appear, by the *Gazette*, to be most active in it, as a regard to the public interest. For several of them I have great respect & esteem, and take an interest in their welfare. I have heretofore been gratified to see an advancement of their fame. This incident may tend to injure them. As to the Union, all movements which menace, or even suggest the least danger to it, cannot fail to have an ill effect. None of the States are so deeply interested, according to my best judgment, in its preservation, as the Southern. Rivalry, restraints on intercourse, would immediately ensue, under partial confederacies, or any other arrangements, which could be formed, the pernicious consequences of which may easily be conceived. Hostility and wars would be inevitable, whereby our free system of government would be overwhelmed. The Southern States would soon become a scene of the most frightful calamities, because their slaves would be excited to insurrection. It is my candid opinion, if there is any portion of the Union which ought to feel peculiar solicitude for its preservation, it is those States, as it likewise is that they should promote the connection and dependance of the several States on each other, by intercourse, commerce, & every practicable means tending to obliterate local distinctions, diffuse a common feeling, and bind the Union by the strongest ties of interest & affection, more closely together.

With respect to the promotion of these objects, by the improvement of the Union by roads & canals, in the extent heretofore stated, and by the encouragement of manufactures, my views were fully disclosed in my inaugural address in 1817; as they were in the messages subsequently sent to Congress. They have not changed, but have gained strength by subsequent events. I make to you this communication with the candor I have always observed in my communications with you, and with the best feeling for those to whom it particularly relates. That it might have been advisable, considering the objections entertained to this measure in the South, to have advanced more gradually, in carrying into effect this policy, is a subject into which I do not enter. But that the encouragement of manufactures is one, regarding the dangers to which our Union and free government are exposed, and which bear with peculiar force on the Southern States, which they should cherish, is a point on which my mind has long since, perhaps improperly, been made up. Nor have I any doubt, having all the raw materials among ourselves, and blessed with other advantages enjoyed by no European country, that at no distant period we shall obtain those articles at home, at a cheaper price than they can be procured from foreign countries. The law having been passed by a constitutional majority, what I most anxiously wish is, that a fair experiment be made of its effect.

We had the satisfaction to find Mr. Gouverneur, and our daughter, and their children in good health. The journey was fatiguing to Mrs. Monroe, but her

health had improved when I left her, and has improved since. Mr. and Mrs. Hay are in good health. We all desire our best regards to Mrs. Calhoun & family, and beg you to be assured that we shall always be happy to see you both whenever it may be convenient for you to visit us.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, Augt. 5, 1828.

DEAR SIR,— On my return home, which I did on the day contemplated when we parted, I had the satisfaction to find my daughter & Mr. Hay in good health, & to receive letters from Mr. Gouverneur, advising me that Mrs. Monroe's health had improved, & was improving. I hope that you & Mrs. Madison have been equally fortunate. I was so much overcome by the heat, & fatigue of the journey in consequence of it, that I have been incapable of any exertion since. I now send you the buckles which I promised, to repair the loss which you sustained in our interesting walk at Monticello.

I omitted to bring with me a copy of the resolution of the Board, enjoining it on Mr. Ch- Johnson & me to report a plan of police for the University. If you have one, will you be so kind as to send me a duplicate of it. I forget also the precise day which was appointed for the meeting of the Board in October. I will thank you to inform me of it in your next letter.

We have had some rain since my return, but not enough to secure the corn. It is still cloudy, so that

we hope for more. The wheat in this quarter was less injured than in yours, by the rust. With our best regards for your family — Your friend —

TO C. J. INGERSOLL.

Octr. 20, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I should have answered your letter of the 8th before this, had it not involved many considerations, of such great delicacy, with some of which you are unacquainted, but which I will communicate to you, in profound confidence, that it was painful for me to enter on it.

In the just commendation bestowed on Genl. Jackson, by many of his friends, for his gallant defense of N. Orleans, imputations have been made against me, while acting in the Dept. of War, of neglect, in not forwarding to him the necessary supplies, in men, arms, &c, for the defense of that city. Judge White, in a speech of his, of the 8th of Jany. of last year, seemed to give countenance to those imputations, tho' in a delicate form, having in view the applause of the Genl., and not the censure of me, or the government. The judge, being the decided friend of the Genl. I availed myself of that circumstance, & of that occasion, to open a correspondence with him on that subject, and to shew, by official documents, to which I referred, & to which he might have access, that I had fully performed my duty in that important occurrence, & had not merited those imputations. I assured him that I did not ascribe to the General

such sentiments, and wrote to him to make him fully acquainted with the whole subject, as the friend of the General & me, whom I also view in that light, & in whom I had entire confidence. The conduct of the Judge, in his replies to me, was candid & fair, so that the very friendly relation, which has existed between him & me, has not been, in any degree, interrupted. In that state the affair has since remained. I have been aware of the delicacy attending every public acknowledgement of my services, by the friends of the General, which might be misrepresented, to his prejudice, at the present period, and have thought it due to candor, in the spirit of neutrality, which I have declined, not to press any claims of mine, which would admit of such a perversation to his prejudice, and of departure from that decl[n] on my part. Such, however, is the state that I feel, that it would be improper for me to make any advance at this moment, in favor of a friend, & especially one which might be supposed to be founded on the possible result of the pending contest.

In favor of Mr. Rush, you well know, that there is no document, that I can give, declaratory of my sense of his services & merit, that I shall not be willing & happy to give, under other circumstances.

I observe that you have abstained, from motives of delicacy, from mentioning me in either of your letters. If you wish them to be put in the post office, unconnected with me, I will do it, as soon as so advised by you. You will however recollect that you are known to be the intimate friend of Mr. Rush, & consider

whether a letter from you, at this time, in his favor, regarding his actual state in the opposite scale, may not be misconstrued to his prejudice. You will pardon this suggestion, to which I am impelled by the most sincere regard for both of you.

TO WILLIAM WIRT.

OAK HILL, Oct. 24, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I was much gratified, by the receipt of your letter of the 14th. a few days past, to hear of your return from a journey to the Falls of Niagara, and other parts of the Eastern country, in good health, and that your daughter Catharine's health had been improved by it. We hope that it will soon be completely restored. Would not a visit here, at this season, be useful to her? Be assured that it will always afford my whole family a very sincere pleasure to see you and yours, whenever you can do us that favor.

In Mr. Gouverneur's appointment I take great interest, but I well know that you, and several other friends, will do all in your power to promote it. I am now satisfied, also, that the President entertains a very friendly feeling for me, and will with pleasure confer it on him, should it comport with his views of propriety and policy.

I hear with great satisfaction, that Mr. Trist is appointed a clerk in the Dept. of State, with a salary of $1400. per annum. Mrs. Randolph and family will move, and take her residence with him. Her small

income, added to his, will give them a comfortable support, in some retired situation on the heights of Georgetown, as I presume, where, at a distance from her former residence, which could excite only painful sensations, she may enjoy some consolation. I have felt much for them, and am much gratified by this appointment.

On all subjects, public & private, I should be happy to have an opportunity of communicating with you, as we have always done, with the most intimate confidence in each other. Whether the present Administration ought to withdraw, in the event that Mr. Adams should not be reelected, is a question of great delicacy, as to the numbers, & of interest, by way of example, as to principle. They hold their offices, as others do, as servants of the public, not his. Their appointments do not cease with his. They are responsible, each, for the faithful performance of their duties. He likewise is responsible for them. In this respect there is a difference between our govt. and that of G. Britain; in the latter the Minister alone is responsible. The office of the Chief being hereditary, he is beyond the reach of impeachment. With us, both may be impeached, the Chief and Minister. They are also his counsellors. In some views, therefore, they may be considered as holding an independent ground, that is, as depending on their good conduct in office, and not on the change of the incumbent. In others, the opposite argument appears to have force. Where a difference of principle is involved, it would seem as if a change would be neces-

sary; but where such difference does not exist the danger is, by connecting the members with the fortune of the incumbent, of making them the mere appendages & creatures of the individual, which may have, in certain views, in the progress of affairs, an unfavorable effect on our system. Whenever things get to that state, that manners are approved, or disapproved, by parties contending for power, to promote the success of their favorite, principle is lost sight of, and the people cease to be the sovereign, or rather to exercise the sovereign power in a manner to preserve it. They become instruments, whereby the basis of the system will be shaken. Still as the heads of the Dept. are her Counsellors, and wield important branches of the Govt., I do not see how they can remain in office without her sanction, or wait after his election till apprised of his decision by himself. This view is much less applicable, in every instance and circumstance, to your case than to theirs. Your duties are different. He has less connection with, and less responsibility for the performance of them. Your standing is likewise such, nothing unfriendly having occurred between you, that I should think he would wish to retain you.

Oct. 31. I had written the preceding on the date attached to it, with intention to finish and send it by mail of the next day, but being called to Middleburg, with Mrs. Monroe, to meet two magistrates, to attest a deed for the conveyance of land in Kentucky, on account of the debt contracted for the house in Paris,

I was thrown from my horse, on my return, and greatly injured. The fever has left me, but my leg, which was badly wounded, still confines me to my bed, and will for some time. I can only assure you, that should you remove to N. York, where I have no doubt you will soon establish yourself, I would give you all the aid, among personal friends, in my power.

TO DR. CHARLES EVERETT.

OAK HILL, Nov^r^ 24, 1828—

DEAR SIR,—Since the last accident of a fall from my horse, as I returned alone from Middleburg village, I have been confined to my room, & great part of the time to my bed, by a fever, & a wound which I received in my leg. The shock was very severe to my whole frame. I lay motionless on the ground for about twenty minutes, doubting whether my leg was not broken. The fever has now left me, & the wound is nearly healed, so that I hope soon to be restored to health.

I have not been able to write sooner, or I should have written to you, & other friends, before, to acknowledge my sense of the great kindness you have shown me, by the address you have signed & published in favor of my services, & claims on my country, thro' the whole of my past life. There is not one fact stated but what is true, & supported by unquestionable documents.

I beg you to remember me kindly to Mr. Rogers, who gave me a strong proof of his friendship, when I

was in Spain, by taking charge of my property in Albemarle, at the request of Mr. Jones, on the sale of my land above Charlottes, & for which he neither asked, or would receive one cent. I feel under great obligations to all of you for this, & other proofs of friendship.

Should you leave home this winter cannot you come here, & stay some time with us? The whole family will be happy to see you.

TO RICHARD RUSH.

Decr. 3, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter with the two pamphlets, which you were so kind as to send me, one descriptive of an English statesman, & the other of one of our own people, who has figured not in useful services, but in the abuse of our most distinguished & virtuous citizens. I have read the pamphlets with interest, and concur with you in the view which you have taken of both the persons.

In regard to the English statesman, my opinion of him was, & I had much intercourse with him, that he was more distinguished for eloquence, brilliancy of evil, and polite literary acquirements, than for sound judgment. In this sentiment I think that your sketch of his character concurs.

The private correspondence, which took place at his instance, between him and you, at the period when the Spanish revolutionary at Cadiz was on the point of surrendering, having for its object a division of the allied powers, from an attempt to subjugate South

America, with his abandonment of it, by declining to acknowledge the independence of those new states, which such correspondence, if published, which he intended, would have done, is, I think, a proof of the defect suggested. With the part which you took in that affair I was highly gratified. I add with pleasure, that it laid the foundation of an answer, which was given by Mr. Adams, immediately after the receipt of a copy of the correspondence, to a communication from the Minister of Russia, which expressed the strong disapprobation of the Emperor of all revolutionary movements, and a disposition to aid Spain against South America; as it likewise did, by the policy indicated, and the compromitment of the British Govt., of the message which I shortly afterwards presented to Congress, expressive of the interest which the U. S. took in the independence of those states, and the dissatisfaction with which we should behold any interference, by the European powers, to prevent it. Of the effect thereby produced I need add nothing to you.[1]

[1] "Your kind favor of the 3rd instant," wrote Rush in reply, "was very acceptable to me, under all views. Your renewed approbation, at this day, of the part I acted with Mr. Canning in the negotiation about Spanish America, I prize greatly, as my children will also. It was an anxious duty thrown upon me, and one wholly new and unexpected. It had no precedent, or semblance of precedent, in the past history of any of our foreign relations. I had no human being in England to commune with; no instructions, of course, and therefore nothing to look to under the emergency, but my own judgment. Until I heard how my government would view the part I acted, no diplomatic man abroad, probably, ever suffered more. The interval was one of constant anxiety, often painfully so. Your approbation as made known to me then brought with it an inexpressible relief. It is scarcely less cordial, as you have kindly conveyed it in new terms to me, at such a moment as the present."

From the injury which I rec^{d} some weeks since, by a fall from my horse, I am on the recovery, & hope soon to be completely relieved. The shock was very severe, & the consequences attending it very distressing for some time. I shall always recollect with great interest the very friendly relation which has so long existed between us, &, with my whole family, be happy to see you, and Mrs. Rush, should it be convenient at any time for you both to call on us. We beg you to present our best regards to her, & that you will be assured of the best wishes for your welfare of your sincere, &c.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Decr. 17, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I have received the copy of your late message to Congress, which you were so kind as to send me, & have perused it with great attention & interest. I consider it a candid & able exposition of our affairs, foreign & domestic, & have no doubt that it will be so considered by the nation. It was very gratifying to me to see you enter so fully into the subjects, on which you were called on to act during your Administration, from a belief that the illustration which you have given, in each instance, will be useful to our country, & leave an impression of your conduct, in those affairs, very favorable to yourself. The calm & deliberate manner in which you have given this illustration, without making any allusion to yourself, will likewise have a good effect. In your

friendship I have the most perfect confidence, having seen in your conduct, while I was in the Administration, and since my retirement, the most uniform & satisfactory proofs of it. My indisposition, proceeding from the accident with which you are acquainted, has ceased. I am still weak, but daily recover my strength. I shall always be happy to see you here, & wherever we may chance to meet, as I shall, thro' life, take a sincere & great interest in your welfare & happiness.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

January 7, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 29. Decr., and should have answered it sooner had not my attention been called to Mr. Hay, who has been indisposed, and still is, tho' on the recovery. My health is essentially restored, but I am still weak, and have avoided exposure to the cold air, except in a few instances in a carriage.

The subject to which you refer is of the most delicate nature that can be conceived, on which I always reflect with great concern & distress.[1] Whatever shakes our system, or menaces it, will create a despondence throughout the civilized world. They all look to us, and will give up their cause as lost if we shew a doubt of success. I can only remark in this that none of the views which I suggested, in my letter to you of August last, have been changed. They

[1] "Effect on the South of a high tariff: Sectional divisions dangerous and calculated to become perpetual if not remedied."

were formed on long reflection, founded in experience, and a particular consideration of the state of the Southern country, & especially in the article of slaves, the number of which, in most of them, exceeds that of the white population. My opinion is that we should provoke no issue to shake the system, or which, in the eyes of the world or among ourselves, should make a change, most satisfactory to the Southern States, imputable to necessity, and the preservation of the Union. The best way will be, I think, to let the experiment operate, & to appeal to other motives, in case the result should correspond with the anticipation formed of it. It merits great consideration, and especially if an appeal be made to the danger of disunion, whether it may not have a different effect; whether, if the power to regulate trade is allowed to have no internal operation, the Eastern and Western States may not find it for their interest, at some future period, to break off, and give to their industry, their institutions and other means, an hostile direction towards us. I well know that those who have taken a different view of the subject are men of high honor, and are governed by a sense of what they owe to their immediate constituents. To these men, and to many of their predecessors, I have been attached thro' the whole course of my public life, and have often acted in perfect harmony, and with none more cordially, or uniformly than with yourself, at very difficult periods, & especially in the late war. That attachment still exists, and always will, because it is founded on pure principles, the re-

sult of my disinterested reflections, a just estimate of their character & merit. I write to you without reserve, because I have perfect confidence in the candor with which you will view any suggestion which I make. I cannot now enter more fully into the subject, but I am satisfied that our system requires great circumspection and care, to preserve it. It is getting into operation, on a fair experiment of its principles, without the aid of many causes connected with the revolution itself. To these my attention has been drawn, since my retirement, with great interest. I have long wished to see you, and have attributed your not calling to motives of delicacy only, arising from the state of affairs. I beg you to be assured that that state produced no effect on my mind, in reference to a visit from you, nor will it at any time.

My family desire their best regards to Mrs. Calhoun, whom we should likewise be happy to see with you.

TO JUDGE HUGH NELSON.

OAK HILL, Jany. 27, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—I am very sensible of the motive which has prevented your writing to me of late, and ascribe it altogether to a feeling of delicacy. Knowing your friendly disposition towards me, I conclude that, finding a different feeling prevailing in the legislature, it has been painful to you to communicate it to me. It is a generous sentiment, but I beg you to be assured, that I can meet with firmness a communication from

you, of the view which you have taken of the disposition of my fellow citizens in the General Assembly, however unfriendly to me it may be. I have been aware, for a long time past, that impressions have existed against me, among many of my fellow citizens, arising from the opinions they have formed, by the lights before them, and on pure motives. For these I have made liberal allowances, and have been anxious that fair opportunities might be afforded, for a full illustration of every act of my public life, respecting which such opinions may have been entertained. To invite such opportunities was one of my motives, and a very strong one, for writing and publishing my memoir. I had no expectation, when those copies were sent to Richmond, to be presented to the members of the legislature, that they would interfere in support of my claims, nor did I express such a desire, either in my letter to Col: Preston, to whose care they were sent, & of whom that good office was requested, nor to you, whom I apprised of that measure; and I wrote to no one else there. I stated, according to my recollection, that my object by it was to make the subject matter, treated of in that memoir, known to my fellow citizens generally, throughout the State, and that I had adopted that course, as the best calculated to accomplish that end, and the most respectful to the State, as well as to the parties themselves.

My object is still the same, and I well know, that on many of the points connected with my public service, the doubts which have existed cannot well be

removed, unless the illustration suggested is furnished. That Memoir, with the documents attached to it, will, I presume, have the desired effect. Should any fact stated be controverted, other proof may, almost in every instance, be furnished. I should be glad, therefore, if Col: Preston has returned, and you and he see no impropriety in it, that he would be so kind as to present a copy to each of the members, as heretofore requested. It is my wish also, if my letter to him be of the character suggested, that he would make it known to the members, in such form as will be most suitable. Should Col: Preston be still absent, & my letter to you be as I presume it is, and Mr. Taylor will be so kind as to perform the office requested of the Colonel, that you will make known its contents to the members, either by reading it to the house, when the Memoir is received, or otherwise, as you may deem most proper. I only wish to stand on my own ground, before my country, in every transaction of my life, and this I cannot do, unless the subject, in each instance, be thoroughly understood.

Should Col: Preston be in Richmond, and send my letter to him to the Speaker, when he sends the Memoir to the members, or get some friend to read it there, I should be glad, if you see no objection, if you would read my letter to you in support of it. Indeed I should wish, if you and he approve it, that one, or both might be inserted in the Gazettes. My object is to shew that I asked nothing of the legislature in support of my claims. When those letters were written I had no idea of such a state

of things, for, altho' I knew that unfavorable impressions had existed against me, yet I thought it impossible that they should pursue me to private life, especially under the circumstances in which I retired, after so long & upright a service to my country, and to my native State. When every circumstance relating to my public life is fully before the public, attacks are invited and desired, the country will then decide what it owes to itself, as to me, and I wish nothing to be done in my favor, which shall not be dictated by that sentiment.

You will perceive that I put this whole affair under yours and Col: Preston's care, should he be there, & if not, under yours exclusively, or with the advice of such friends as you may think proper to consult. My object is, in a respectful, but independent mode, to make the instances of my public life and conduct, as illustrated in my Memoir, known to my fellow citizens. If the mode proposed, by presenting the Memoir to the members, will not be viewed in the light intended, I wish it not to be adopted; nor do I wish, if it is, that any of the measures suggested, as illustrations of my motive, such as reading, or publishing my letters to you and Col: Preston be adopted, if you should think them liable to misconception, or otherwise objectionable.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, March 20, 1829.

DEAR SIR,— I am just recovering from a very severe attack of cold & fever, by which I have been

confined to my room, & until a few days past to my bed, nearly three weeks. The fever has left me, but I am very weak, & able to sit up a portion of the day only. This is the second, since we parted, under which I have suffered. The first proceeding from a fall from my horse, who fell with me, &, in rising, gave me a severe wound in my leg. I lay abt 20 minutes incapable of motion, & believing my leg to be broken. On rising I was discovered by a neighbour, Mr. Lucket, who took me to his house, & as soon as I could bear the fatigue, brought me home in his carriage. From those injuries, & the fever attending them, I had recovered sometime before that by which I am still confined. Mrs. Monroe is also now suffering under a similar indisposition, which has been less severe, & from which she is recovering in some degree. We hope that you & Mrs. Madison have been blessed with good health.

I have heard of the attacks which have been made on you by Mr. Giles, but have not been able to read them. They will do you no injury. Our system is in operation on its principles, unaided, in the councils, by the props which supported it in the revolution, and by revolutionary characters since. A complete remedy to a political disease is seldom found until something like a crisis occurs, and this is promoted by the abuse of those who have rendered the most important services, and whose characters will bear the test of enquiry. I think the period not distant when a very different view will be taken of this, and many other subjects now in agitation.

I understand that you have been nominated as a candidate for the approaching convention, & have declined serving. A like nomination has been made of me, as I am informed, and I think that I shall follow your example. The whole family unite in best regards to you & Mrs. Madison.

TO S. M. EDWARDS.

Oak Hill, April 6, 1829.

Dear Sir,— I have received your letter of the 2nd. instant, intimating your desire, and that of others of my fellow citizens of the district, to elect me to the convention which is to be held for the amendment of our constitution, and requesting to be informed whether I would be willing to undertake the trust, should they confer it on me. I feel, with great sensibility this proof of the high confidence of those of my fellow citizens who have expressed this sentiment in my favor, because I see in it the approbation of my conduct, in the service of my country, on the difficult conjuncture thro' which we have passed. Many considerations admonish me, at this period, impaired as my health has been of late, to cherish retirement; among which is a fear that it would not be in my power to render the service which might be expected from me, and which might be performed by others in the district. These have doubtless been weighed by my fellow citizens alluded to, and who are willing to make a generous allowance for such defects as time, & labor in other stations, may have produced. It is a cause of consoling reflection to me, to recollect that I never

declined any service, however arduous, to which my fellow citizens invited me.

Should the trust be conferred on me, I shall, most certainly, pay great attention to the very important points specified in your letter. Having devoted my best faculties, with ardent zeal, thro' life, to the establishment and support of our free system of government, I can never be indifferent to any of the great principles on which it rests. The support, however, of these principles must depend on the union of the State, as it likewise must on contentment among the people, and harmony in its councils. If either part thinks itself oppressed it will be discontented & unhappy. The affection of each part should be promoted, on equal and just principles, towards the others. Our system of government is new, and we find little cause for consolation in the example, and fate, of other republics, all of which have failed. Much light will be thrown on the subject, in every branch, by the discussion which will be given to it, by the very able men who will be placed in that body. Should I be elected to it, it will be my object to adopt such amendments as will correspond with the great principles to which you allude, maintain equal liberty among our fellow citizens, inspire confidence, promote affection, and bind the State, in all its parts, more closely together.

TO JUDGE SOUTHARD.

OAK HILL, April 17, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive yours of the 10th, & to hear that your health was

improving, and that you had so far recovered already as to take exercise on horseback. My earnest hope is that you will soon be restored to perfect health, and long enjoy it. We had heard, with great regret, of the loss of your child, and of the affliction it gave to Mrs. S. and yourself. The visit however which you have made, to old & estimable friends, will, I doubt not, afford to both of you much consolation & relief.

At the removal of my many friends from office you may readily conceive my concern. My attachment to them was not of a transient nature, for, being founded on long & thorough knowledge of their worth, & the most friendly, in many instances confidential intercourse, it could never be removed. In their future welfare I shall always take a deep interest. I need not mention how sincerely and thoroughly these remarks apply to yourself.

My objection to the publication of your correspondence with Genl. Jackson, at the time it was made, was founded in a desire to take no part in the pending election, and not to be brought forward by either party, in connection with it, under the imputation, or a possibility of it, of using me for its benefit, to the injury of the other. I never had a doubt that the remarks, which I understood you had made, in reference to my conduct, in furnishing supplies in men, arms & money for the defence of N. Orleans, in the late war, were dictated solely by a candid & disinterested estimate of my services, but still I thought, as you had remained in the Administration, that a publication by you, pending the controversy, would be

ascribed to a different motive, and make me, in its consequences, a party to it, & without rendering any service to you. I had befriended those on both sides, while in the Administration, & had retired with the like feelings for them. Had you published the correspondence, without consulting me, it would not have affected my friendly feelings for, nor my relations with you, but having asked my opinion on the subject, I thought it incumbent on me to give it with sincerity and candor. The election is now at an end, & you intimate a desire to publish the correspondence, in vindication of your character, which, you say, has been assailed, by a misrepresentation of your conduct. The objection which existed with me, in the former stage, has undoubtedly ceased, and the only question now seems to be whether there be any which I ought to urge, to prevent a measure which you deem important to yourself. In the present stage the only bearing which the publication can have on me, which I ought to regard, involves a scrutiny into my conduct in the service of my country at a very difficult epoch. From such scrutiny I have never shrunk. On the contrary, I have, as you, and my fellow citizens generally, know, always invited it. My relation, however, with both the parties has been, and still is friendly. Should it be changed with either, it will not be at my instance, nor by my desire. Should the publication involve the scrutiny suggested, it is hoped & presumed that justice will now be rendered to me on both sides. My object will be to view their conduct with liberality, & to take no

offense without just cause. The point between us is, do I make any objection to the publication by you of the correspondence alluded to, & I declare to you that I do not. But in that step I take no part. It will, of course, be your own act, and should be so understood, as it will be making it directly on your own part. No public attack has been made on me, & thro' a friend entitled to perfect confidence, assurance has recently been given me that the most friendly feelings are entertained for me, by the person alluded to. I cannot therefore advise the publication, but shall certainly never object to it, and for the reason stated.

I have been also severely afflicted by indisposition, great part of the winter, but am now, as you are, recovering so far as to take exercise in the open air. To-day I ventured out on horseback, & hope to continue to do it, if the weather corresponds with the season. Mrs. M. has likewise been very much indisposed, and is on the recovery. We shall always be happy to see you & Mrs. Southard, & to hear from you, & of your health & welfare. Make the best regards of my family to her, & accept them on your own part.

TO JAMES MADISON.

OAK HILL, April 28, 1829.

DEAR SIR,— Since the receipt of your last letter application has been made to me, from citizens at Leesburg, to know if I would act in convention, if elected, stating certain data to which they were at-

tached, with an intimation that they concluded that I was so likewise. I answered that, altho' there were many considerations to induce me to remain at home, that I, nevertheless, would act, if elected, giving, however, to that part relating to principles a remark, that I was attached to all that were able to support our equal rights, but in a manner not to bind myself to any strict restraint. I did not know till yesterday that they were satisfied with my answer. Several of them called, and they told me that they were. Do you propose to attend the meeting in your county? I am disposed to decline it, for reasons that will readily occur to you; but I shall be glad to know your decision respecting it. My health is improving, but is still weak, as is that of Mrs. Monroe. Our best regards to Mrs. Madison. In haste I write this for the mail this morning. Your friend—

TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

OAK HILL, May 2, 1829.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is some time since I wrote to you, in answer to your affectionate letters, altho' I have long intended to do it, and to acknowledge that particularly in which you enclosed me one to Mr. Graham, but the feeling which it excited has, in truth, been the cause of the delay. So many interesting circumstances have occurred between us, to which we have been parties, and others of which we have been spectators, in both countries, since the battle of Brandywine, that I never can review

them without peculiar interest and sensibility. The letter referred to brought them to my recollection with great force. But, my dear friend, I can never take anything from you, nor from your family.[1] I have known and seen too much of yours, and their sufferings to commit such an outrage to my feelings. Your claims are too strong on me personally, on my country, and on the friends of liberty everywhere, for me to do it. I sent your letter to Mr. Graham, with instruction not to think of the measure, or rather, to take no step in the execution of it, and with which he has complied. If I was ever to visit France your house would be my home, but we are both too far advanced in years to think of such a voyage. We must content ourselves with writing to each other, which I shall do hereafter more frequently.

With my ill state of health, and the accident from which it proceeded in the first instance, you have been acquainted, I have suffered much thro' the winter, but am now so far recovered as to be able to take my usual exercise on horseback, and which I do daily, when the weather will permit.

The legislature of this State have called a convention, to be held in October next, to amend the Constitution. It was the first formed in the Union, & has managed affairs successfully; but it is generally admitted to have defects which require amendment. Mr. Madison has been invited by his district to become a member, and to which he has consented, and will be elected. A like invitation has been given

[1] Referring to Lafayette's generous offer of pecuniary assistance.

to me in this. I hesitated on account of ill health, but have at length expressed a willingness to serve, if they desire it. I am personally little known in the district, and can therefore form no estimate of the result.

My pursuits at home are interesting. My mind is not inactive, and in the employment given to it, a review of past occurrences in which I have acted, and of which I have been a witness, occupies a large portion of my time. I do not know that anything will appear to the public during my life, but whenever it does, should it be deemed worthy notice, a just regard will be shewn to your services, and claims on our countries, as well as to the friendly relation which has existed between us and our families.

Mrs. Monroe, & my whole family, take a deep interest in the welfare & happiness of yours, as well as in your own. All the details which you give us respecting them are gratifying. Your own health, we are happy to hear, is quite restored, & good. We hope that that of your son & daughter likewise is, & of their offspring.

I sent to Mr. Gouverneur the papers you forwarded to me, from the physicians in Paris, expressive of their opinion respecting the infirmity of his son, & of your desire to receive, & render him any service in your power, & for which he is most grateful. The boy is at a school near the city of New York, in which those thus afflicted are educated, and his improvement is a cause of surprise, as well as of consolation to all the family. Should he ever

visit France he will avail himself most willingly of your good offices.

I shall write you again soon. I have received Mr. Marbois' book, relative to Louisiana. He speaks of me with kindness & does justice to me, in many interesting circumstances, and, as I believe, to the full extent of his knowledge. There are some facts, however, with which I am satisfied he was unacquainted. He states, for example, that he had commenced with Mr. Livingston before my arrival in Paris, in April 1803, and that he had done it in compliance with the instruction of Bonaparte, the First Consul. You will observe that the interview stated by Mr. Marbois, between the First Consul and his two ministers, took place on the tenth of April; on which day it was known to Mr. Livingston, & of course to the govt., that I had arrived at Havre, and was on the route to Paris. The conference referred to is stated in page 285. Mr. Livingston's letter in reply to mine announcing my arrival, bears date likewise on the 10th, of which you will see a translation in page 468. If it was known to Mr. Livingston on the 10th, that I had arrived, it must have been known to the First Consul. It was known to all at Havre, as a salute was fired from the battery, and a guard of 50 men sent to the hotel where I stopped, whom I dismissed. That the First Consul should have delayed his conference till that day is a proof of this fact, for otherwise why did it not happen a day or a week before, or after? He stated in the conference that, coming

2000 leagues, I must have more extensive powers, which shews that he waited for my arrival — page 267. He knew that nothing could be done till that event occurred. That he gave the instruction, as stated by Mr. Marbois, to proceed forthwith I have no doubt, but that he gave it with a knowledge of the above facts, and with intention only to put the affair in train, I am equally confident.

In this circumstance I think that Mr. Marbois is mistaken, as already observed, that he had commenced with Mr. Livingston before my arrival. The day after my arrival I dined with Mr. Livingston, having Col: Mercer and Mr. Skipwith with me, which was on the 12th or 13th of April, and while at dinner, Mr. Marbois arrived, & being informed that the family were at dinner, he walked in the garden until we arose from dinner. Mr. Livingston had not then read his instructions, which was an additional motive for wishing to accompany him, in the interview, to guard against his compromitment of himself. Many other circumstances of a like kind, in support of what is above noticed, occurred, and of which I have proofs, which have never been stated, or published to promote any object, on my part, either of advancement, or fame, altho' they have been called for by misrepresentation here. It is admitted that a war with England menaced, but it appears, by Mr. Marbois' statement, that that war was considered as certain, as early as January, and was deemed inevitable soon afterwards, if not before. Mr. Marbois states, in page 275, that before the message of the King of England,

of the 8th of March, 1803, the First Consul had considered the war inevitable. Mr. Tallyrand's letter to Mr. Livingston, of the 24th of March, declaring that he should wait my arrival, is a faithful proof that the First Consul knew the fact, and gave his instructions to Mr. Marbois in consequence thereof. The order to Bernadotte, which you communicated to me, to leave Paris the day I entered it, shews that he was acquainted with it, & intended to prevent an interview between him & me.

If you see no impropriety in it, I have no objection to your shewing to Mr. Marbois what I have stated above. I wish nothing but the truth, in which I am satisfied he concurs. A communication took place between him & me, on this subject, before my retirement, in which I stated to him, at his request, some facts, particularly the letter of Mr. Tallyrand to Mr. Livingston of 24th of March, & Mr. Livingston's letter to me of the 10th of April, which he has published.

I have entered further into this subject than I intended, but I have done it from a knowledge of the interest which you take in what relates to my welfare & character. Retired now from public life, with no desire ever to enter it again, I can have no [other] object, in what relates to the past, than a strict regard to justice.

Let me hear from you as soon as convenient, and give us all the details mentioned respecting your family, as well as yourself. Our affectionate regards to you and them.

TO JAMES MADISON.

Oak hill, June 25, 1829.

Dear Sir,—We heard with great regret of your serious indisposition, but were relieved from anxiety by a letter, sometime since, from Mr. R. Taliaferro, which assured us that you had nearly recovered to perfect health. I have been much afflicted by repeated attacks since we parted, & by a recent one, which is the third, but am now so far restored as to entertain a hope that I shall be able to attend the meeting of the Visitors at the University, which I understand will be on the 10th of next month. Our gd daughter, Hortensia Hay, is engaged to be married to Mr. Rogers, of Baltimore, & the union will be formed on the 5th. I propose, if my health permits, to set out on the 7th, in the hope of reaching your house on the 8th or 9th, & on the 8th if possible, to proceed with you, as heretofore, to the University. Be so kind as to drop me a line, to inform me whether the meeting takes effect at the time suggested.

TO JAMES MADISON.

Oak hill, Sept. 10, 1829.

Dear Sir,—I am anxious to know the state of your health, & whether it is such as will enable you to attend the convention. I most earnestly hope that you will be able to attend it, for, if I go, I shall be much gratified to meet you there, and, whether I do, or not, I am satisfied that your presence, altho' you might take no part in the discussion, would have

a very useful effect. My health, since we parted, has been very weak, and often affected with slight bilious attacks, which, altho' removed with prompt remedies, have, nevertheless, kept me in the state in which you saw me. At this time it is rather better than it has been, and the prospect is favorable of my being able to attend, but this will depend on there being no future impediment. Mrs. Monroe intended to accompany me, but this is now rendered impossible, since her state at best will only be such as to justify my leaving her, under the care of our daughter, Mrs. Hay. We hope that Mrs. Madison enjoys good health, to whom present the best regards of our whole family. Very sincerely I am, dear sir, your friend—

Still I would risk nothing.

TO JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

RICHMOND, Decr. 21, 1829.

SIR,—When your letter of the 10th Inst. reached me I was confined to my bed by sickness, and tho' I hope I am now convalescent, I am still so confined. I use the earliest opportunity that returning health affords me to acknowledge the receipt of, and to give a concise answer to it.

The representation contained in the *notice sur La Cession de la Louisiane* (a copy of which was enclosed in your letter), that, on the negotiation of the treaty by which that province was ceded to the United States, I gave to you & Mr. Tallyrand each a million, & to Labouri 300.000, is false and utterly destitute of

foundation. For the services you, or any other person, may have rendered in that negotiation not one cent was directly, or indirectly, advanced to you, or to Mr. Talleyrand, or to any other person whatever.

I have given this brief answer at this time, for the circumstances under which it is written prevent me from giving any other. When I recover my health I will write to you more fully on the subject.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration & esteem, your most obt. & hble. sert.

TO DR. CHARLES EVERETT.

OAK HILL, May 18, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—Since my return home I have been free from fever, and other complaint, except that of weakness. I have in some degree recovered, but am far from being restored to my former state. I take exercise on horseback daily, when the weather permits, but I ride a few miles only. My cough continues, without pain. I hope when the weather becomes settled, and I may pursue a regular system of exercise, that my health will be restored.

Mrs. Hay, my daughter, is now with hers near Baltimore, who expects soon to be confined. She has been with her husband sometime in the city, whither he went to consult Dr. Hunt, who is acquainted with his constitution on a complaint with which he has been afflicted for more than two months, & still continues. It was thought to be the rheumatism, his pain in his body & limbs being excruciating,

but it is now thought to be bilious. He is uncertain when he will be able to reach home. My daughter will return to, & bring him if able to come, here, as soon as she can leave hers. Mrs. Monroe's health has rather improved. Our accounts from Mr. Gouverneur & our daughter in N. York are favorable.

It would give us great pleasure to see you here, if convenient to you to make us a visit. I fear it will be utterly out of my power to attend at the university at the next meeting of the visitors. Unless a great change in my health takes place it will be impossible, and that can hardly be expected, in so short a time, at my period of life. This increases my desire to see you here, as indeed I should be happy to see some other friends with whom you are intimately acquainted.

The report in favor of my claims has not yet been taken up, and there is cause to apprehend that it will not be reached, in regular order, during the session, & in which event that it will not be acted on before the adjournment. I have experienced many difficulties thro' life, and have met them as I trust I ought to do. I shall make the same effort in future, let what may happen, though under circumstances not so favorable to success.

I am engaged in works, as you know, which give me an interesting occupation, and amusement. If you could come over I would communicate what I have executed to you, & be glad to have your sentiments respecting them. I mention this in confidence. Present my best regards to Mr. Rogers.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OAKHILL, May 19, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 17th and hasten to answer it. I well remember that when I received the letter from Genl. Jackson, to which you allude, of the 5th of Jany. 1818, I was sick in bed, and could not read it. You were either present, or came in immediately afterwards, and I handed it to you for perusal. After reading it you replaced it, with a remark that it required my attention, or would require an answer, but without any notice of its contents. Mr. Crawford came in soon afterwards, and I handed it also to him, for perusal. He read it, and returned it, in like manner, without making any comment on its contents, further than that it related to the Seminole war, or something to that effect. I never shewed it to any other person, and I am not certain whether it was he, or you, who observed that it related to the Seminole war. Having made all the arrangements respecting that war, and being sometime confined by indisposition, the letter was laid aside, and forgotten by me, and I never read it until after the conclusion of the war, and then I did it on an intimation from you that it required my attention. You ask whether that letter was before the Cabinet, in the deliberation on the despatches received from the General communicating the result of that war, or alluded to by any member of the administration. My impression decidedly is that it was not before the cabinet, nor do I recollect, or think that it was alluded to in the deliberation on the subject. Had it been I could not,

I presume, have forgotten it. I received the despatches referred to here, & had made up my mind before I left home as to the part I ought to take, in reference to its management, especially if I should be supported, in the opinion formed, by the Administration. That support was afforded, and I pursued the course which my judgment dictated, with a view to the honor and interest of my country, and the honor of the General who commanded. With sincere regard I am, dear Sir, yours—

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

May 21, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—Your visit here was so short, and the subject to which you attracted my attention so interesting, that I could not do justice to it, in some views, at the time, nor can I, I fear, even at present. The facts stated in my answer to your letter, according to my recollection are strictly correct, in every circumstance. The material circumstances are, was the letter in question[1] alluded to in the Cabinet consultation, & if alluded to, was it brought before the Cabinet? My opinion is as stated,—that it was neither alluded to, nor brought before the Cabinet. You could not allude to it, as I presume, because it would be to invalidate, if it had any effect, the ground you had already taken, that the attack on the Spanish posts was a breach of order. I could not have alluded to it, because I was ignorant

[1] From General Jackson, of January 5, 1818.

of its contents. Whether brought before the Cabinet, or alluded to in the deliberation, are questions which touch the character, in the first instance of myself, in the next of yourself, I mean if brought before the public. Who are impartial witnesses in such a case? Undoubtedly Mr. Adams, Mr. Wirt and Mr. Crowninshield. Their recollection and opinion are, therefore, of the highest importance. But will the subject be brought before the public, and by whom? A publication by anyone involves an attack on General Jackson, provided the letter was an important one. He will not bring it forward, nor will any friend of his, as I presume. My impression is, in regard to yourself, that I would not bring the subject forward, nor notice it in any form, before the public, unless it were brought forward before them first by others, and then on the defensive only. In that state, the more candid, full, & independent, the better the effect. In the present state, I would meet the communication, from the General, in a friendly manner—give him all the explanation necessary, as to the whole proceeding, your opinion of his breach of orders, the time you read his letter to me, I being then sick in bed, the hint you afterwards gave me, & the motive for it.—

Any step which might be considered as an attack on him, at the present time, might have an ill effect on the individual, and likewise on public concerns. The period is eminently delicate & interesting for our country, & its system of gov^{t}, and therefore great caution, in every political movement, or which may have that bearing, especially by those in high public

trusts, is peculiarly proper. I write you in great confidence, & under impressions which you will duly appreciate.

The propriety of measures will be judged of by a strict analysis of their merit, or demerit, and a correct opinion, I doubt not, will be formed.

P. S. I sho^d have no objection sho^d you deem it proper to your shewing to the General your late letter to me and my answer.—You will, I presume, shew it to Mr. Wirt, to whom I wrote a short one by last mail, as you may this.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OAKHILL May 26,[1] 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I have this moment received your letter of yesterday, and altho' I give it a prompt answer, to meet your views, yet my mind is made up, as to the course it is incumbent on me to pursue. The letter from Genl. Jackson to me was private, & from its nature, confidential. Had I been in health & read it, I would never have shewn it to any one, however great my friendship for, or confidence in him might be. Our appeal to Mr. Wirt, in whose honor & friendship we have the utmost confidence, has been produced by causes which I need not mention to you. His declaration that, according to his recollection and belief, the letter was not before the Cabinet, & that he had never heard of it before his late communication with you, concurrent with our view, confirms me

[1] Endorsed May 27th.

in that sentiment. We will therefore consider the communication to him as confidential. I deem it improper for me to go beyond it, or extend the communication to any other person. In taking this course I am not led by a want of confidence in Mr. Adams and Mr. Crowninshield, but by a sentiment of delicacy in regard to myself. If the case related to me only, I sho^d promptly give them that proof of my confidence. But it relates to another, and under circumstances which will make any disclosure, no matter to whom, bear more forcibly on me than any other person. This sentiment gains force from the reference which you & Mr. Wirt have kindly made to me, by declining to take any step, with others, which might by any possibility, subject me to compromitment.

TO JAMES MADISON.

July 2, 1830.

Dear Sir,—Being very anxious to join, & proceed with you to the University, to perform our duties there, I have delayed answering your letter of May the 18, in the hope that my health would be so far restored as to enable me to do it. In this I am disappointed. I am still too weak to sustain such an exertion. I am, and have been since my return, free from fever, and I take exercise on horseback in the morning, daily, and think that I gradually recover strength, but it is in a very limited degree. Through the heat of the day I am forced to repose on a bed, incapable of any effort, without exposing myself to

injury. Under these circumstances it would be improper for me to make the attempt. Other obstacles present themselves; Mrs. Monroe could not accompany me; her weak state forbids it, and I could not leave her here alone. Our daughter, Mrs. Hay, is still with her husband in Washington, whose fate is equally uncertain as when I last wrote to you. Various experiments have been made on different views of his malady, all of which have failed, and the medicine he has taken, in each instance, has tended only to weaken him. His physicians advise that he come home, if he can bear the journey, which they doubt. In this state it would be distressing to me to leave home, even if my strength was equal to it.

I have not heard from Mr. Sparks, nor is it necessary, in reference to the publication of Reneval's statement of which you furnished a copy. He is at liberty to publish it without any communication with me. I have one also from Mr. Vaughan, who was the confidential agent of Ld. Shelburne, which differs in certain respects from the other. Ought not this likewise to be published? He intimated to me a year ago that he intended to make some alterations in it, but I have not since heard from him. Perhaps a communication between Mr. Sparks and him might be useful. Of this however you will judge, & of which, if you think such communication proper & necessary, you will be so kind as suggest it to him. Ought I to say anything to Mr. Vaughan, or to Mr. Sparks on the subject?

I send you a small addition to the report I drew

for an Executive govt. for the University. It is a respect due to the institution at West Point, & its management, & was casually omitted. I feel no personal solicitude respecting the decision on that report. Being called on to draw one, I have done so, and am perfectly willing that it be placed among the papers of the institution without further acting on it.

It is a cause of great regret that I cannot be with you, at your house & the University, as I should have been much gratified to meet other friends there. Be so kind as present our best regards to Mrs. Madison.

TO J. M. COWPERTHWAITE.

The chair with which you have presented me today, on the part of the chairmakers of this city, I accept with the most grateful emotion. The accommodation which it afforded me while I remained on the Platform was sensibly felt, but the sentiment produced by your attention, and the motives which led to it, roused feelings of a different character. That you should recollect the humble service which I rendered, in early youth, in our revolutionary struggle, and have taken so kind and generous a view of my conduct, in all the important trusts with which I have been honoured by my country, has made a lasting impression.

The revolution of France undoubtedly took its origin from that of the U. States. Her citizens fought and bled in our service. They caught the spirit of liberty here, & carried it home with them. We can never look back to that era, without fixing our eyes

on an illustrious individual, who has been equally distinguished for his service, in support of that great cause, in both hemispheres.

That you sho^d have manufactured this chair in the [two words illegible] is a proof of your talent in the art, which affords me great pleasure. I beg you to assure the chairmakers of the city, that I shall preserve it, as a testimonial of their approbation to whom I shall always attach an high value.

I have no doubt that the late glorious triumph in favor of liberty [will] promote the general interest of the civilized world.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Jany. 25, 1831.

I had the pleasure to receive your very kind and interesting letter of the 10th. sometime since, and sho^d have answered it before had I not been prevented by my weak state of health, and great depression by the inclemency of the season. Of your sympathy with me under the heavy afflictions with which I have been lately visited, I was well aware, & feel sensibly the kind manner in which you have expressed it.

The present revolution in France opens a new epoch to that country & to the world, the consequences attending which cannot now be estimated with any degree of certainty. The first revolution was marked, especially in its early stages, with a violence & cruelty, which laid the foundation for its overthrow. In this sentiment I concur with you, as I do that the

present one has occurred under much more favorable circumstances. They have stopped at a point to which the people of that country may be competent, as I trust they are. The sanction promptly given to it by Engl^d will I think afford it support both at home and abroad. It admits the revolutionary principle, but confines it to limited monarchy, by which she intended, as I presume, to support the existing state in France, and by means thereof her own gov^t and likewise to put an end to the holy alliance. If France & Engl^d adhere to this policy, and are able to sustain it, the example may extend its influence to other people, to Spain & Italy, & even to the north. Its effect on Belgium is involved in too much darkness at present to admit any rational conjecture respecting it. It is equally difficult to calculate what effect on Engl^d, as to Ireland or in her interior, as to reform; altho' the new ministry may be friendly to it, as I think it is. I think that the change will operate in our favor with both France and Engl^d The part Gen^l La Fayette takes in it will be felt in every quarter, and will give great support to the system.

My papers relating to the occurrence to which you allude are in London. I have, however, I think, a distinct recollection of all the material circumstances attending its important features, and if there be any point on which you wish immediate information, and will state it, I will communicate it to you. If you sho^d afterwards desire copies of any of them, I will furnish — [remainder of draft missing].

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.[1]

I have received your letter of enquiring what were the motives which induced you to ask of me whether Genl. Jackson's letter of the 7th. of Jany. 1814, had been mentioned in the Cabinet, by either of the members, & whether, in consequence, I had found it among my papers, & read it to the Cabinet. I well remember that, in making this enquiry, you communicated to me Mr. Crawford's letter to Mr. Forsyth, and Genl. Jackson's to you, with which he transmitted it to you. In Mr. Crawford's letter he stated that you had mentioned in the Cabinet the letter of the Genl. referred to, and that I had, in consequence, taken it from among my documents, brought it in, and read it to the Cabinet. This therefore submitted the question, in both views, before me, in the most impressive manner, and resting on facts respecting which I entertained no doubt, I was particularly guarded in my answer to your enquiry. I was sorry that Mr. Crawford's view differed from mine, but the incident, in its origin, & all its consequences, being one of high importance to my country, & to myself, there was no portion of it which would not have made a deep impression on my mind. As I had never read the letter, being sick in bed when I recd. it, had the incidents in question occurred I was satisfied that I could not have forgotten them. But as Mr. Crawford entertained a different sentiment, & I knew nothing of the other members who were present, I owed it to

[1] Endorsement—Project of an answer to Mr. Calhoun's letter of Jany. 11, 1831—adopted and sent to that of 27th with the alterations on the second page.

myself, as well as to him & them, to express myself with delicacy & caution. The information which you afterwards gave me of Mr. Wirt's opinion, on consulting him, gave me the more confidence in what I had before said.

Had I read the Genl.'s letter when I recd. it, I sho^d^ never have shewn it to anyone, as I have heretofore observed. Coming from the commanding general I concluded that it must relate either to men or money, & therefore handed it to the heads of each department, as he entered, but as neither suggested anything of the kind, the subject being disposed of, the letter was deposited with other papers, & forgotten when I arose from my sick bed.

In your communication with me you appeared to indulge no unfriendly feeling to anyone, but to seek my unreserved and candid sentiment on the subject of your enquiry.

TO JUDGE SOUTHARD.

February 8, 1831.

I have yours of the 1st. asking my sanction to a communication to Mr. Calhoun, at his request, of what was said by Mr. Crawford, in the Cabinet, when the conduct of Com: Porter, for his attack on Foxardo, was under consideration, at a special meeting, which I called to obtain its advice, as to the measure which sho^d^ be adopted in consequence thereof. You well know, as did the whole administration, and likewise Com: Rodgers & Chauncey, the part which I acted in every instance towards Com: Porter, & how he

requited me for it. I never noticed his conduct, however, by entering into any discussion with him, & I have still the same object in view. I do not perceive, however, on what principle, publick or private, regarding the state in which the controversy to which I allude is, that I can withhold my sanction, as the act of a private individual. If the Chief Magistrate has any power of restraint while in office, it must cease after his retirement. The parties in question are at variance, in which I take no part, and will not be seen further than is inevitable. In this instance, as my sanction is a private & personal act between ourselves, I wish you not to mention my name, but to act as if coming from yourself. The relation the Com: bears to me is an additional motive for this caution.

TO A COMMITTEE
[OF TAMMANY HALL].

1831—

I have received your invitation to attend the meeting, to be held this evening, at Tammany Hall, of the mechanicks, workmen & other citizens of N. York, to celebrate the late glorious revolution, in France, in favor of liberty, with the sensibility which so generous a mark of your confidence was calculated to excite.

An effort in favor of liberty, by the people of any country, has always commanded my high respect, and its failure excited my deep regret. This remark applies with peculiar force to France, from whom we derived great aid in our own struggle.

Having witnessed, for several years, in my mission to that country, the exertions of that people in support of that great cause, in which they displayed a gallantry & patriotism, which repulsed the surrounding nations, & astonished the civilized world, I could not otherwise than be deeply affected by its failure. I have rejoiced to find that that most afflicting disaster did not extinguish, nor even diminish the spirit, as has been proved by the recent most glorious event. The moderation and humanity which they have displayed shew that they have derived useful admonition from the errors of their former struggle. The prudence also with which they have adopted the counsel of enlightened & virtuous men, to whom they have committed the direction of affairs, affords an additional strong ground on which to confide in their success.

Having seen, in our revolutionary struggle, the most satisfactory proof of the virtue, talent & gallantry of our fellow citizen, Genl. La Fayette, & known him afterwards, & been intimately connected with his affairs, in my missions to France, in which his devotion to liberty, and every previous impression in his favor, was confirmed, I have seen with delight his call to the station which he now holds, because I find in it a generous reward of his merit, & likewise great support to the cause in which France is engaged.

It is my intention to attend your meeting if my health will permit it, and I certainly shall do it, delicate as it is, if no unfavorable change occurs.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

1831

My reduced and weak state of health, having rendered it impossible for me to perform any publick duties, imposes on me the necessity of resigning my appointment as visitor to the University of Virginia, which I now do in this communication to you. I adopt this measure with great regret, as I take a deep interest in the success of the institution, which, as well from my affectionate regard for my native state, as the support which the institution gives, by spreading intelligence among our fellow citizens, to our free system of govt., will never cease. With my best respects to your family, & the members of the council, I am yr. very obt. servant.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

New York, Feby. 14, 1831.

Dear Sir,—I received in regular time your letter of the 29th ulto., and regret that my weak state of health, and the pressure of my private concerns, have prevented my giving you an earlier answer.

Your remarks on the state of England are highly interesting, and shew the difficulties which her govt. must experience in making any reform in the parliament, or even in preventing convulsions, which may, at no distant period, shake the whole system. Her affairs have reached a stage, under expedients to unite forces which, if suffered to advance, in a regular course, menaces an overthrow, and in which a

change in any of the prominent features menaces a like result. I do not see how the British govt. can get rid of the debts, and of the corn laws without a convulsion — and with the immense mass of poor collected around the manufacturing establishments, the coal pits & elsewhere, added to the laboring class, who are all poor, if the govt. be essentially thrown into their hands the same fate may be apprehended. A conflict with Ireland, which seems to approach, merits the same view, so that I do not see how Great Britain can long sustain her present rank in Europe, or preserve internal tranquility.

To the independence of Belgium I see no evidence of opposition, either from France or Great Britain. The sentiment of France, as may be inferred from a declaration of our friend, Genl. La Fayette, seems to favor it, & the unsettled state of Engl^d affords proof that she will not embark in war to prevent it. The first impression which the decision of Engl^d, in favor of the present revolution in France, made on my mind was that she intended to connect herself with that country by a new bond; that she intended to offer her support to France for the acquisition of Belgium, in return for that of France to maintain her authority over Ireland. But this impression has been removed by what has already transpired. Engl^d appears to stand by herself, connected, as yet, with France only by the declaration in favor of her present revolution, & by the effect it may have on the Holy Alliance, & the general system of Europe in regard to gov^t. France, by what has transpired, in relation to Belgium

& Poland, seems to mingle more, & to assume a more imposing attitude, in the affairs of the other powers. Into what this may lead, & what may be the progress of her revolution & govt must now be mere matter of conjecture. I consider her situation more favorable.

The disorder and imbecility of other govts, especially those with whom we have most intercourse, must give some security to our own, provided we sustain the attitude, on land and sea, which we have done since the late war. If we complete our fortifications, & have a force to occupy & keep them in order, and sustain our navy at the point contemplated, exhibiting squadrons in the several seas which they have hitherto visited, I have no doubt we shall command their respect, especially if our govt pursues a pacific policy.

My correspondence with Genl. Jackson, relative to his conduct in the Seminole war; with Mr. Calhoun, as to what passed in the Cabinet respecting it, except a recent communication incidental to the matter, is at Oak Hill. You shall see, and have copies when I have access to it, if you wish them. I think that you are already well acquainted with the subject in all its parts, unless it be the correspondence with Genl. Jackson; but if there is any point on which you wish information, and intimate it, I will immediately communicate it as far as I may be able.

The danger is, if the right of suffrage is extended to the whole population, without any qualification, as to property, that as the difference of interest begins to operate, as it will soon do, that the mass of poor, which will be by far the most numerous, will elect

persons who will be instruments in the hands of leaders who will overthrow the govt., &, by convulsive movements, restore the despotism.

You have stated the difficulties which Engl^d^ has to encounter to sustain her present state. France has a better prospect of maintaining her present system than any of the gov^ts^ of Europe, less trammelled.

That the present ministry entered with a determination to make a reform, if in their power, I am confident. I am confirmed in this sentiment by my knowledge of those entertained by several of the members, particularly Grey, Holland, Landsdowne & Mr. Brougham.

TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

February, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 4^th^ and readily perceive the cause of my mistake of the object of your enquiry in that of the 27th. ulto. I was, I presume, led into it by reference, in the interrogation in your letter, to what occurred in Loudon only, no mention having been made there of the proceedings in the Cabinet.

I have a very imperfect recollection of the conduct of the several members in the consultation in the Cabinet, respecting the conduct of Genl. Jackson in the Seminole war. I rec^d^ his despatches in Loudon, and my mind was made up on a variety of considerations, founded on my previous service abroad & at home, as to the course which policy dictated, before I left Loudon, and which, after due deliberation was adopted. My object was to reconcile the members

to that policy, by giving the necessary explanations; and I pursued it, until it was accomplished. I did not even remember, until you reminded me of it in Loudon, that you had advised his arrest for disobedience of orders, nor was I aware, until advised of it by Mr. Adams, as he passed thro' town this winter, that he was of opinion that the conduct of the Spanish authorities justified the General in his attack on the Spanish posts, & would justify the govt. in taking the responsibility on itself, and likewise that a very animated discussion took place between you & him, concerning the opinions which you respectively advanced. I mention this in strict confidence. The defect of my memory alone, is a strong argument against my statement of anything relative to the conduct of the individual members, further than what relates to the letter of Genl. Jackson, which stands on its own peculiar ground, and asserts what was not done, and to which, had it been done, being a party, as was asserted, I co^{d} not have forgotten. Other considerations are equally conclusive. The difference of opinion & animated discussion, between you & Mr. Adams, was warm, in the deliberations on that subject, and as Mr. Adams thinks it probable that he may be called forth, that fact will of course be stated by him in that event. It is better that that warmth should be ascribed to mere difference of opinion between independent men, as to a measure, than to any particular hostility to the Genl., & which it might be if any sentiment sho^{d} be expressed respecting it in the present stage. By disproving everything relating to

the letter, on which Mr. Crawford's remarks are principally founded, his inferences in other respects will be shaken, & as I presume, be deemed erroneous. To this view you may give proper tone, in the candid & independent avowal which you will make, of the sentiments you entertained, & of the part which you acted, in the deliberations on that interesting subject, without appearing to vindicate yourself against any charge whatever. You had just entered the Cabinet & had had no variance with the General, and were, I presume, slightly acquainted with him. I need not add that I communicate these sentiments with the best view to you as well as to myself.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

March 11, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—My very low state of health has rendered it impossible for me to give an earlier answer to your letter of the 15th[1] ulto. My memory is very defective, as to what occurred in the Cabinet, in the deliberations on the result of the Seminole war. I will, however, communicate to you all the information that I may be able, without the aid of my papers, which are at Oak Hill.

My opinion remains unchanged, that the letter of Gen! Jackson, of Jany. 6, 1818, was not read in the Cabinet, nor mentioned, nor do I think, had it been known to Mr. Crawford that it had not been answered, that it would have justified the inferrence, he has

[1] Endorsement reads "my answer to Mr. Adam's letter of Feby. 18."

drawn from it, that Genl. Jackson might have considered it as a sanction to his proposition. He especially requested in it an informal sanction from Genl. Rhea & without which, in the spirit of his letter, none could be inferred. Besides what is the fair import of the letter? He does not ask an official authority from me. He asks only my consent as an Individual, and evidently with an intention not to compromit me, even in that character. The letter therefore, had it been answered, & the sanction been given, was an affair of confidence between him & me, never to be disclosed. On what principle it can be relied on as an authority to attack the posts, & to make me responsible for it, I cannot conceive. If it was his intention, had I given the sanction, to take the responsibility on himself, and his letter admitted only this construction, the obligation was much stronger when none was given, & his instructions forbade the attack. The statement given was strictly true that the letter was not read, nor mentioned in the Cabinet, and, according to my memory, I never read it, or thought of it, till after the meeting of Congress, and then on the suggestion of Mr. Calhoun, that the existence of such a letter was known to, and spoken of, by Genl. Lacocke, who made the attack on Genl. Jackson in the Senate. In stating to Genl. Jackson, that I had never recurred to that letter, until after the arrival of Mr. Hambly, I meant not until after the affair was terminated, to convey the idea that it had not weight in my decision on the subject. That was the only point involved between us at that period, &

to which that statement could alone refer. I never met Mr. Crawford & Mr. Calhoun by themselves on the subject, nor do I recollect that I had any conversation with Mr. Crawford on it after the decision of the Cabinet, tho' in this latter instance I may be mistaken.

I concur with you in the sentiment that no motion was made, either by Mr. Calhoun, or Mr. Crawford, for the arrest or trial of Genl. Jackson, and that the whole discussion turned on the question whether all his proceedings sh^d^ be approved, or the capture of the Spanish ports disavowed. Of the marked nature of the discussion to which you recur I have no recollection, nor have I of the notes drawn by you and Mr. Wirt for publication, or of the modifications which I gave to that which was published. The view which you have presented is very satisfactory to me. Sho^d^ I have any of the papers relating to it, you shall have copies, or the originals if you prefer them.

With the origin of Genl. Jackson's variance with Mr. Crawford, & of that between the latter & Mr. Calhoun, I am ignorant. I knew at an early period that much hostility existed between the two former, and that the two latter had no friendly communication with each other. I never inquired into the cause in either instance, but knowing the fact, had it [in] view, with respect to the two latter, in our Cabinet consultations. The publications already made have given almost all the material documents, relating to the conduct of Genl. Jackson in the Seminole war, and have furnished much light as to the origin and causes

of the differences of the respective parties, and also of the merits of the controversy on each side. Any that I have, when I return to Loudon, you shall possess, & in the interim, any information relating to any occurrence, not sufficiently exhibited, that I possess, you shall command.

TO DR. CHARLES EVERETT.

NEW YORK, MARCH 28th, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—I have heard with much regret that you have been indisposed, but hope that you have completely renewed your health. My own health continues to be very infirm & weak. Little change has taken place in it since I came here. I have, in consequence, yielded to the wishes of my daughters to remain with them, & the connection generally ; to accomplish which object, with any degree of comfort, I am compelled to sell my estate in Loudon, which is advertised, in the gazettes of Washington & Richmond, for sale on the second Wednesday of June next, & for which full power is given to Mr. Gouverneur & Captain James Monroe. I regret much to be forced to part with that estate, as I should meet there occasionally, if my health permitted, my friends from different parts of the State, and have other strong reasons to be attached to it. It is my intention, if I shall be able, to visit it the latter end of next month, when I shall be happy to see you. I beg you to explain the above to Mr. Rogers, & other friends in the neighborhood.

I am free from pain, but my cough annoys me much, both night and day. I take no medicine but to moderate it, such as syrup of horehound, horehound candy, &c. My physician, Dr. Bibby, thinks that I am too much reduced to take any medicine which should operate on the liver, & that, when the season permits, exercise, and the Saratoga waters will relieve me. This was also the opinion of the physicians in Loudon and Washington. It would afford me great pleasure to have your opinion, & that of my friend Dr. Carter, who know my constitution, and were so kind to me at Richmond. After the severe service to which I have been exposed thro' life, and the heavy pressure on me since my retirement, I have, I fear, little cause to hope for a perfect recovery at my advanced years.

TO JAMES MADISON.[1]

NEW YORK, April 11, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—I have intended for some time to write and explain to you the arrangement I have made for my future residence, and respecting my private affairs, with a view to my comfort, so far as I may expect it, but it has been painful to me to execute it. My ill state of health continuing, consisting of a cough, which

[1] Monroe's farewell to Madison, who, in answer, wrote :

" MONTPELIER, *April* 21, 1831.

" DEAR SIR,—I have duly received yours of [April 11]. I considered the advertisement of your estate in Loudoun as an omen that your friends in Virginia were to lose you. It is impossible to gainsay the motives to which you yielded in making New York your residence, though I fear you will find its

annoys me by night and by day into considerable expectoration, considering my advanced years, although my lungs are not affected, renders the restoration of my health very uncertain, or indeed any favorable change in it. In such a state I could not reside on my farm. The solitude would be very distressing, and its cares very burthensome. It is the wish of both my daughters, and of the whole connection, that I should remain here & receive their good offices, which I have decided to do. I do not wish to burthen them. It is my intention to rent a house near Mr. Gouverneur, and to live within my own resources, so far as I may be able. I could make no establishment of any kind without the sale of my property in Loudon, which I have advertised for the 8th of June, and given the necessary power to Mr. Gouverneur & my

climate unsuited to your period of life and the state of your health. I just observe, and with much pleasure, that the sum voted by Congress, however short of just calculations, escapes the loppings to which it was exposed from the accounting process at Washington, and that you are so far relieved from the vexations involved in it. The result will, I hope, spare you at least the sacrifice of an untimely sale of your valuable property; and I would fain flatter myself that, with an encouraging improvement of your health, you might be brought to reconsider the arrangement which fixes you elsewhere. The effect of this, in closing the prospect of our ever meeting again, afflicts me deeply; certainly not less so than it can you.

"The pain I feel at the idea, associated as it is with a recollection of the long, close, and uninterrupted friendship which united us, amounts to a pang which I cannot well express, and which makes me seek for an alleviation in the possibility that you may be brought back to us in the wonted degree of intercourse. This is a happiness my feelings covet, notwithstanding the short period I could expect to enjoy it; being now, though in comfortable health, a decade beyond the canonical three-score and ten, an epoch which you have but just passed.

"As you propose to make a visit to Loudoun previous to the notified sale, if the state of your health permits, why not, with the like permission, extend the

nephew James. If my health will permit I will visit it in the interim, to arrange affairs there for that event, and my removal here. The accounting officers have made no decision in my claims, & have given me much trouble. I have told them that I would make out no account adapted to the act, which fell far short of making me a just reparation, and that I had rather lose the whole sum than give to it any sanction, be the consequences what they may. I never recovered from the losses of the first mission, to which those of the second added considerably.

It is very distressing to me to sell my property in Loudon, for, besides parting with all I have in the State, I indulged a hope, if I could retain it, that I might be able occasionally to visit it, and meet my friends, or many of them there. But ill health & advanced years prescribe a course which we must pursue. I deeply regret that there is no prospect of our ever meeting again, since so long have we been con-

trip to this quarter? The journey, at the rate of your own choice, might co-operate in the reëstablishment of your health, whilst it would be a peculiar gratification to your friends, and, perhaps, enable you to join your colleagues at the university once more at least. It is much to be desired that you should continue, as long as possible, a member of the Board, and I hope you will not send in your resignation in case you find your cough and weakness giving way to the influence of the season and the innate strength of your constitution. I will not despair of your being able to keep up your connection with Virginia by retaining Oak Hill and making it not less than an occasional residence. Whatever may be the turn of things, be assured of the unchangeable interest felt by Mrs. Madison, as well as myself, in your welfare, and in that of all who are dearest to you.

"In explanation of my microscopic writing, I must remark that the older I grow the more my stiffening fingers make smaller letters, as my feet take shorter steps, the progress in both cases being, at the same time, more fatiguing as well as more slow."

nected, and in the most friendly intercourse, in public & private life, that a final separation is among the most distressing incidents which could occur. I shall resign my seat as a visitor at the Board in due time to enable the Executive to fill the vacancy that my successor may attend the next meeting. I beg you to assure Mrs. Madison that I never can forget the friendly relation which has existed between her and my family. We often remind us of incidents of the most interesting character. My daughter, Mrs. Hay, will live with me, who with the whole family here unite in affectionate regards to both of you.

[DENUNCIATION OF THE INSINUATIONS OF JOHN RHEA.[1]]

A letter of John Rhea of Tennessee is shown to me this nineteenth day of June, 1831, for the first time, nor have I previously had any intimation of the receipt of such a letter, or of its contents. It was

[1] At the height of General Jackson's quarrel with Calhoun, which turned in part on the Seminole affair, John Rhea—better known to the public men of the day as "Johnny Rhea," a member of Congress for many years from Tennessee, "a man never of much reputation, who is remembered in history only as one of Andrew Jackson's constant parasites"—wrote to Monroe hoping to elicit from him something that would implicate him as having approved Jackson's course.

At the time of the delivery of Rhea's letter, Monroe's situation was such as to render it highly desirable to keep him free from all excitement and anxiety. He had been gradually declining for some time past and his family had no hope that he would be restored to health. For some weeks he had been confined to his bed. Mr. Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law, acting as his secretary and in charge of his papers, received and opened Rhea's letter. In his astonishment and perplexity Gouverneur sought counsel of friends in whose judgment and regard for his venerable and illustrious father-in-law he had great confidence. He sent the Rhea letter to William Wirt, remarking, "It is a singular production and seems to have some singular object in view. The lapse of time since the subject of it became a matter of discussion and the most extraordinary state-

received by Mr. Gouverneur, as I am told by him, and after having been read, kept from me, for reasons which he will explain, until this time. Had it been communicated to me before, I should have made, as I now do, the following declaration & reply thereto, which I wish to be filed with the said letter, as my reply to its contents.

1st It is utterly unfounded & untrue that I ever authorized John Rhea to write any letter whatever to Genl. Jackson, authorizing or encouraging him to disobey, or deviate from the orders which had been communicated to him from the Department of War.

2d That it is utterly unfounded & untrue that I ever desired the said John Rhea to request Genl. Jackson to destroy any letter written by him, the said John Rhea to Genl. Jackson, nor did I at any time

ment of the burning of a letter of the most vital consequence to the possessor strike me with singular effect. All the statements respecting conversations with Mr. Monroe I know from his own lips to be false and unfounded. It is really important that Mr. M. should be made acquainted with its contents. I know it would create considerable excitement in his mind and might have an injurious effect. Again, Would I be justified in assuming the responsibility of keeping it from him?"

Mr. Wirt agreed with Mr. Gouverneur in his estimate of Rhea's letter and urged that Monroe's solemn statement be procured. "The design is obvious," he replied to Mr. Gouverneur. "It has grown out of the Calhoun correspondence and the object is to prop up the falling character of A. J. at the expense of that of our venerable and most excellent friend. The letter I have no doubt is designed for publication—it will be published with a statement that Mr. M. has not *dared* to *contradict it*—and it will probably be supported by the certificates or affidavits of A. J. and J. R. The reputation of Mr. M. is deeply and vitally concerned in this affair and if he were my own father and at the last gasp, I should feel it my duty to show it to him at every hazard, and receive his explanation or contradiction. If I were in his place I should consider myself ill treated to have such a charge concealed from me in the hour of death. That such would be his sentiment too I have no doubt for I have known him for thirty-five years and have never seen the day when he did not value his character

wish or desire that any letter, document, or memorandum, in the possession of Genl. Jackson, or of any other person, relating to my official conduct, in respect of the Seminole war, or any other public matter, should be destroyed.

A note applicable to this subject will be found among my papers at Oak Hill in Virginia, to which, as well as to my whole correspondence with General Jackson, as well as others, I refer, for the truth of this statement. JAMES MONROE.

This statement was signed by James Monroe and declared to be true in the presence of us — on this 19th day of June 1831. M. GELSTON,
EDW^D. M. GREENWAY.

above his life, and surely it is of far more consequence now both to himself, his country and his friends than the small remnant of days that may belong to him. His denial of the statement made in the awful moment of approaching dissolution would outweigh with the virtuous and enlightened of the community a hundred such witnesses and posterity will acquit him of the vile duplicity which this letter imputes."

Mr. Gouverneur followed Wirt's advice and accordingly on the 19th. of June Monroe made his deposition. His name is signed legibly and firmly with only a slight tremulous indication of his enfeebled state. On the ensuing 4th. of July James Monroe was dead and with his death the controversy subsided. No exigency ever arose for the production of Monroe's deposition. Whether the affair was dropped because this triangular quarrel between Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford had ended in a permanent rupture of relations or because the public would bear no more of it, or possibly because the administration had learned from some source that there was a statement made *in extremis* which might be forthcoming, history does not record. But it may now be positively affirmed that Monroe's most intimate friends were informed confidentially of this deposition and that one of them at least—John Quincy Adams—has left on record an opinion as to the "depth of depravity in this transaction" expressed in language sufficiently clear and explicit. (Diary, August 30, 1831.)*

* General James Schouler, "Monroe and the Rhea Letter," *Mag. Am. History, q. v.*, vol. xii., page 308.

APPENDIX.

THE MEMOIR

OF

JAMES MONROE, ESQ.

RELATING TO HIS

UNSETTLED CLAIMS

UPON THE

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GILMER, DAVIS AND CO.
1828

INTRODUCTION.

THE Memoir, remarks and documents, which will be found in the following pages, were printed in the *National Intelligencer* in November, 1826, and reprinted in a few other papers. As they treat of occurrences which are interesting to the public, as well as to the individual to whom they relate, it is thought proper to collect and republish them in a pamphlet, that the whole may be seen at one view.

By these papers, as originally drawn, the difference between the claims as presented to the committee to whom they were referred, and the decision on them, was not shewn. The remarks were written while the claims were under consideration, and the Memoir refers to the difference in general terms only. A concise view is now taken of it in the Memoir, as will be seen at its conclusion.

THE MEMOIR

OF

JAMES MONROE, Esq.

Believing that I had been injured by the settlement of my accounts, for services in former stations, I deemed it proper to bring my claims before Congress, on the 5th of January, 1825, at the expiration of which session, my term, in the high trust with which I was then honored, expired. I did not ask a decision on those claims, at that time, but sought only to bring them under consideration, that they might be decided on after my retirement.

As objections were raised against those claims during the last session, to which the observations which I had presented to the committee to whom they were referred, at the preceding session, did not extend, it became necessary for me to give further explanations, applicable to each objection, so far as I was acquainted with it; and having no direct correspondence with the committee, I requested Mr. Gouverneur to attend in Washington to receive those explanations, and communicate them to those who might be willing to peruse them, which he accordingly did.

It may readily be conceived, that it was impossible for me to advert to claims, founded on presumed injuries, in the settlement of my accounts, without taking into view the causes which produced them. The great lapse of time which has intervened, may have erased those occurrences from the minds of others, but, with the individual, all the incidents which affected profoundly his character, his welfare, and his peace, remain connected through life, and it is natural for him to review them with deep

interest, in his retirement, especially if recalled to his memory by others of a like kind, proceeding from them. My recall from my first mission to France of 1794, was on the ground on which the claims arising under that mission were principally founded. Possessing documents illustrative of my conduct, in the very circumstance for which I was recalled, that were never used before, it seemed incumbent on me to make them known on that very interesting occasion. With that view I transmitted them to Mr. Gouverneur, with the explanations specified, to be used in like manner. I took that measure with no unfriendly feeling to any one; indeed such feeling, so far as it ever existed, has long since ceased. My object was to place my conduct, by such additional evidence as I possessed, in an occurrence of high importance to my country, as well as to myself, in the light in which I knew that it ought to be viewed. I was very anxious also, to make known the kind and favourable sentiments which were expressed of me, by the illustrious individual by whom I was recalled, on receiving information of my conduct, from a very respectable friend, in whom he confided, who was with me, and well acquainted with it, at the period when my recall was decided on. The favourable opinion of that individual was always an object of the highest interest to me. I had served under him as a subaltern, in our revolutionary army, and had witnessed his very exemplary conduct at the most difficult and perilous epochs of that great struggle. I had received his approbation of my conduct in that struggle, and been promoted by him. I was a member of the Revolutionary Congress in 1783, and present when he resigned his commission as Commander in Chief of our Armies, and retired to private life. I knew him at his residence in retirement, as I afterwards did while a member of the Senate; when at the head of the government to which he was called by the unanimous suffrage of his fellow citizens, and I have always cherished the highest respect for his memory, and admired his great virtues and talents.

There was another instance in which my character had been assailed in that mission, the circumstances attending which, I thought proper to avail myself of that occasion to explain. After my reception, in 1794, by the National Convention of France, the

committee of public safety offered me a house for my accommodation, as the Minister of the United States, in any part of Paris which I should prefer, and sent me a carriage and horses, without waiting for an answer. I declined the house immediately, on the principle, that the acceptance of it was forbidden by an article of our constitution, and after detaining the carriage a few weeks, until I had obtained one of my own, I returned it with the horses, with a request that I might be permitted to pay for their use, in the same manner as if I had procured them of an individual, which was granted and performed. At the instance and earnest pressure of many of my fellow citizens who were then in Paris, who thought that the refusal of those accommodations might revive suspicions which had before existed, and that the purchase of a house on my own account would have a good effect, and be useful to them and to our country, in the then state of our affairs, I bought one of an individual, declaring to those in power in France, that I did it to accommodate me as the Minister of their ally, and with intention to offer it to my government, on my retirement, on the terms on which I had purchased it. Having documents to prove this fact, with the heavy loss which I sustained in consequence thereof, as I believed, by my recall, I forwarded them to Mr. Gouverneur, with the others.

Soon after I was recalled from this mission, I was appointed by my native State to the office of Chief Magistrate, in which I served the constitutional term of three years, and retired from it with the approbation of my fellow citizens, as was evinced by the vote of the General Assembly, and more particularly by the manner in which it was given. My affairs requiring it, I resumed immediately my station at the bar, and with a fair prospect of success. I was at no time rich. My landed inheritance in Westmoreland County was small, but still it was something. By the sale and investment of the amount received for it in other lands, as soon as I arrived at maturity, I had laid the foundation of independence, and should have attained it had I pursued the profession of the law a few years longer: for I possessed, at the time of my appointment on my first mission to France of 1794, more property than I now hold, and owed comparatively nothing.

At this moment, an event occurred which produced great

excitement throughout our Union. By the treaty of St. Ildephonso, between France and Spain, the latter had ceded to the former Louisiana, and had suppressed, as is believed at the instance of the then government in France, our deposite at New Orleans, the right to which had been secured by our treaty with Spain of 1795. The excitement produced by that act was universal throughout our Union, and particularly ardent in the Western Country, the commerce of a large portion of which was dependent on the free navigation of the Mississippi. The aggression justified war and many were prepared to risk it by removing the obstruction by force.

The President preferred a different policy. He resolved to make an experiment of a pacific character, by a special mission, with intention to resort to war, so far as depended on him, should that mission fail. In that emergency, he demanded my service, and nominated and appointed me to France and Spain, without consulting me, but with a perfect knowledge that I should not decline the mission. Independent of any favourable opinion which the President might have entertained of me personally, arising from the very friendly relations which had so long existed between us in public and in private life, there were considerations known to the public, which, doubtless, had weight with him in making the appointment. My zeal in favour of the free navigation of the Mississippi, had been shewn on several important occasions. As far back as the year 1786, when a member of the Revolutionary Congress, I had strenuously opposed a projected treaty with Spain, by which, had it been concluded, the use of that river would have been suspended for a term, and our right to it, as I thought, impaired. It was known that I wrote the paper, which was presented by the delegates of the State, in opposition to that project.[1] I mention this occurrence with no unfriendly feelings to Mr. Jay, our then Secretary of foreign affairs, for no one thinks more highly than I have done, and still do, of his talents, revolutionary services, and general merit, which I take this occasion with pleasure to declare.

Another instance had occurred in which my zeal, in favour of

[1] "See Secret Journal of Congress—Foreign Affairs—Vol. 4th., p. 87, Aug. 29, 1786."

the free navigation of this river, had been displayed. In January, 1795, in my first mission to France, at a period when our relations with the French Government were of a most friendly character, France and Spain being then at war, and the armies of the republic victorious in every quarter, and particularly in Spain, a negotiation being sought by the latter, and existing between the two governments, I presented a note to the French Government, in which I urged, from motives of policy, which ought to have weight with that government, the exertion of its influence, to secure to us the free navigation of that river, either by extending it to a negociation then entrusted to Mr. Short, our Minister at Madrid, or by providing for it in its own treaty. These facts being well known to the Union, could not fail to have their effect, in every quarter, as to the zeal which I should carry with me into the negotiation.[1]

The presumption was equally strong that I should be well received by the French Government. As my efforts to preserve good understanding between the United States and France, in my former mission, had produced some effect on the policy of that Government towards the United States, and much to its displeasure, after it had decided on a change of policy, it was natural that the censure inflicted on me by my own government, by my recall, on the presumption that I had failed to perform my duty to it, and to my country, in that very circumstance, should excite some feeling in the government of France, and restore to me its confidence which had been withdrawn. The men still in power were all of the revolutionary character, with most of whom I was personally well acquainted, and had witnessed their greatest difficulties. I was the first minister who had been presented to the Republic; had beheld three great movements against them—those of Germinal, of Prairial, and Vendemiare—in the latter of which Barras commanded the National Guard, and Napoleon Bonaparte acted under him. This occurred at the moment when the Convention was engaged in the act of transferring the government from itself to the Directory and to the two Councils. I was in

[1] "See the View which I printed, on my return from this mission—'Notes on Mississippi, communicated to the Com. of P. S.' p. 14."

the Hall of the Convention just before the attack commenced, and retired from it at the instance, and under the guidance of some of the members, who led me through the Carousal, by their cannon, whose matches were lighted, bearing up towards the street Richelieu, where those of the sections were posted, and lighted against them. I had scarcely passed the latter when the action commenced, at about four o'clock, P.M. and which continued 'till ten at night. No other citizen of our Union held the same relation to them. See in the *View*, etc., three letters to the Secretary of State in which I give an account of those three movements, viz: April 14, 1795; June 14, 1795 and October 20, same year.

It might fairly be inferred therefore, reasoning on the best propensities of our nature, if that government could be induced to yield to our demands, that it would be gratified to make the accommodation, at the instance of one, with whose good wishes they were acquainted and whom they had injured. They had had before no opportunity to make to him any reparation. A few days after I took my leave of the Directory, not being able to sail for the United States during the winter, and unwilling to remain a spectator of the distressing incidents which followed, I proceeded to Holland and remained there till the Spring, at which time I hurried through France to Bordeaux, from which port we sailed.

My reception by the French government, in my second mission, on my return in 1803, was as kind and friendly as could have been expected, from what had before occurred. That the mission contributed to the result contemplated — to prevent war, and secure to us by the treaties which were then concluded with the French government, not only the free navigation of the Mississippi, but all Louisiana, Mr. Talleyrand's letter to Mr. Livingston, which was written after my appointment was known in France, while I was at sea, Mr. Livingston's letter to me in reply to mine, announcing my arrival at Havre, and the extract from Col. Mercer's [1] journal of what passed between Mr.

[1] "He was the son of General Mercer, who fell in the battle of Princeton, in our revolutionary war. He was an enlightened and estimable citizen, who accompanied Mr. Monroe, as his friend."

Livingston and me on the evening of my arrival in Paris, will distinctly show. Mr. Talleyrand states, in explicit terms, that the first Consul thought it improper to commence a negotiation, on the ground of Mr. Livingston's complaint, until Mr. Monroe, the Minister Extraordinary, whom the President had appointed to discuss the subject, should arrive, and be heard, that every matter susceptible of contradiction might be completely and definitively discussed. He states, also, that the first Consul had charged him to assure our government, that, far from thinking that their new position in Louisiana could be an object of solicitude, or cause the least injury to the United States, he would receive the Minister Extraordinary whom the President had sent to him, with the greatest pleasure, and that he hoped that this mission would terminate to the satisfaction of both States. Mr. Livingston congratulates me on my arrival, and expresses an ardent desire that my mission may answer mine and the public expectation. War, he says, may do something for us; nothing else would; that he had paved the way for me by his memoirs; and if I could add to them the assurance that we were in possession of New Orleans, we might do well. With the sentiments contained in this letter, those which were declared by Mr. Livingston, after my arrival in Paris, were in strict accord as appears by the extract from Colonel Mercer's journal of what passed in our first interview. On being informed that the motion which had been made in the Senate, for taking possession of New Orleans by force, had failed, he expressed his regret at it, under a belief that force only could give it to us. It is just to observe that in expressing this opinion, Mr. Livingston showed no excitement whatever, but appeared to speak under a thorough conviction of what he believed to be the fixed policy of the French government, founded on his communications with the Ministers, and what he knew of the character and policy of the first Consul, in other respects. It affords me pleasure to add, that, in the negotiation which was commenced immediately afterwards, and in the result procured by the treaties in which it terminates, great harmony prevailed between Mr. Livingston and myself.

The representation then made to me, and by authority entitled

to confidence, was that the first Consul having his cabinet assembled at St. Cloud, and walking in the garden with the members who composed it, having heard of the arrival of the Minister Extraordinary at Havre, communicated to them the fact, and then observed that the negotiation should be immediately commenced, and addressing himself to Mr. Marbois, added, that "being an affair of the Treasury, I will commit it to you." His motive for committing the negotiation to Mr. Marbois, and in a manner not to wound the feelings of Mr. Talleyrand, may be readily conceived. It was added, by the same authority, that, until that moment, so decided was believed to be the purpose of the first Consul, to cede no portion of the territory in question, and unchangeable his views, after making a decision, that none of his Ministers would have ventured to propose it to him. The sum suggested in the first interview with Mr. Marbois, as that which his government had a right to claim for this territory, was one hundred and twenty millions of francs, the estimated value of Tuscany, which had been given for it: but this was not insisted on, nor explicitly proposed. It was the subject only of free communication. The first proposition which he made, was that we should give for it eighty millions, of which sixty should be paid to France in cash, in one year, in Paris — the other twenty to our own citizens; and that the vessels and goods of France should be perpetually exempted, in the ports of the ceded territory, from foreign duties. The change which was made by the payment in stock, instead of cash, with the limitation of the exemption of French vessels and goods from foreign duties, to twelve years, with every other change, from this project, was the effect of negotiation and accommodation. I add with pleasure that the conduct of Mr. Marbois, in every stage of the negotiation, was liberal, candid and fair, indicating a very friendly feeling for the United States, and a strong desire to preserve the most amicable relations between the two countries.

It is just to state, that the frank, candid and friendly conduct of the two great houses of Hope, of Amsterdam, and of Baring, of London, by offering to us loans to any amount we might require, at the usual interest, rendered to the United States essential service in the negotiation. We had reason to believe that the knowledge of

these affairs, and the confidence with which it inspired the French government, that our stock might be converted through them, into cash, at a fair price, aided us in prevailing on that government to accept the payment in stock, and to lessen the amount demanded for the territory ceded.

It is also just to acknowledge the attention received, and good offices rendered in the negotiation, by Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first Consul, who invited me to an interview immediately after my arrival in Paris, and gave me assurances of those good offices, with which I was satisfied he complied.

In regard to these two missions, I shall remark here, that, for the mortification and distress to which I was subjected in the first, I have derived great consolation, from a belief that the portion thereof which arose from the distrust which was manifested of me, by the French government, enabled me, under the influence of just causes, to promote in some degree, in the second, the interest of my country.

None of these documents relating to either mission were ever published before, nor should I now publish them, if my advancement to office was depending in any instance, before my fellow-citizens. They are connected with the history of our Union, respecting which, in all its important occurrences, a just opinion should be formed. In the present state, they can affect me, in point of character alone, abstracted from every other consideration. To this I have looked with great sensibility through life. Having had occasion to notice both missions, in their most material circumstances, with a view to my claims, and in consequence character, I have thought that it was not only proper, but a duty, to communicate every document which could throw light on either the one or the other.

At the expiration of the second mission, I retired to my farm in Albemarle county, in which I had resided, when at home, from early life, and to which I have been much attached, having always lived in great amity with my fellow citizens there. Our affairs continuing to be unsettled, I was elected by them, in 1810, a delegate to the General Assembly, and by it, during the session, to the office of Chief Magistrate, and shortly afterwards, invited by my friend, Mr. Madison, then President, to the department of

state, which I accepted. In that department and in the department of war, I served under him, and till his retirement to private life, on which event, I was elected his successor to that high trust. In these latter offices I served my country fourteen years, and in which, I well know, that I devoted my best efforts, with unwearied zeal, to promote its prosperity and welfare. To imputations that were raised against some portions of my conduct in these offices, I thought it proper to give explanations, in my communications to Mr. Gouverneur last winter, and to which I now refer.

Since my retirement, Congress have passed an act respecting my claims, of a nature very different from what I had anticipated. As this act has rejected one very important item, and modified others, in a manner to reduce, very materially, the amount claimed, I think it proper to state, briefly, the difference between the claims and the decision, so as to enable my fellow-citizens to form a correct judgment, whether justice has been rendered to me by the act.

The claims which I presented for both missions, were few and special. They were confined, strictly, to incidents attending each; and I asked only in regard to each, the allowance which had been made to others, in like cases, where the like had before occurred; and in those which were peculiar, the like having never before occurred, such compensation as on the principles of justice, I knew I was entitled to. On account of the first mission, I asked the salary belonging to the office, for the term during which I was detained in France, after my recall for the season, and the want of a suitable vessel, in which to embark my family, with an increased allowance for contingent expenses. I asked, also, interest on those claims, from the time they became due till paid. For the second mission I asked interest on the outfit, which had been withheld from me on my appointment, till the time it was allowed, with interest, on the aggregate paid. 2d. An allowance for the sum paid for a passage in a vessel, in which I did not sail, my instructions not having been prepared. 3rd. An increased allowance for contingent expenses. 4th. An allowance for my detention in England, after my return from Spain, by special causes, when I had the permission of the government to return, and should have returned, had I not been prevented by those causes.

By the act referred to, the salary belonging to the office, for the term during which I was detained in France, after my recall from the first mission, by the want of a vessel to bring me home, was allowed, and an increased allowance was also made for contingent expenses by placing me, on the average, with the allowances made to all our ministers, with every power, for like expenses. The interest claimed on both items was suspended until 1810, the period at which the account for the second mission was settled, about thirteen years after the first claim became due, and a longer term after the second. For the second mission the interest claimed on the outfit, which had been withheld on my appointment, for the term during which it had been withheld, with interest on the aggregate afterwards till paid, was refused. The average allowance made to all our Ministers, for contingent expenses was adopted. The claim for money paid for a passage in a vessel, in which I did not sail, was admitted, as was that for detention in England, after my return from Spain, when I had permission to return home; but the interest on those several claims was suspended to the period specified.

As the justice of my claim for contingent expenses in the first mission, in the extent claimed, and to interest on the outfit withheld in the second, has, I presume, been fully shewn in the remarks, which follow, I shall add nothing respecting the decision on those items here; nor shall I for the same reason, add anything on the decision respecting interest on the claims generally, contenting myself with a reference to the illustration given in those remarks, of those subjects. Some considerations, however, force themselves to my recollection, on a view of the objections raised against my claims, which I deem it neither improper, nor in the slightest degree, indelicate to mention. Indeed I consider it a duty to do it. In pecuniary transactions the conduct of each party to the other; the benefit which either derives from the good offices of the other, merits attention. This is done between individuals, and is equally proper between an individual and the public. If this is looked into, how will the account stand between my country and myself? What sums did I borrow in the late war, when in the department of war — in the hour of our greatest peril — and what was the saving made to the public by those

loans, independent of the support thereby given to our military operations? Treasury notes were then selling at 20 per cent. discount, and all the loans which I made, after that of the first million, which was made immediately after I entered the department, were made at par, by which $20 in the $100 were saved to the country — one fifth of the whole amount of the loan. This service was the more burdensome, because I was, at that time, charged with the department of State, as well as of war. I was invited by the President into the latter office from the former, in consequence of the emergency which had occurred, and on which account I most readily accepted it. Governor Tomkins, to whom the department of state was then offered, having declined it, I was again likewise charged with that department. At this period the war pressed with great violence along the whole extent of our sea-coast, and on our western and northwestern frontier. There was not a city which was not menaced with invasion, in defence of which it became necessary to call into the field a strong force. For such an emergency the Treasury was not prepared, and, in consequence, it became my duty to make provision for the support of the troops in the best manner that I could, which was done by loans from banks and corporations, in every quarter of our Union, in which they could be obtained. In many instances, these loans were made by me personally, with the agents of the institutions, who attended for the purpose, and in others, by officers who acted under the department, and on its responsibility. The sum thus borrowed, amounted to several millions of dollars, as has been shewn by one of the documents heretofore printed, and may be seen by those in the department of war. For every thousand dollars, thus loaned, two hundred were saved, and for every million, two hundred thousand. Important as the saving made by these loans was, in money, they were of much greater importance in other respects. Without their aid, the supplies necessary for the support of the troops could not, it is believed, have been furnished. They must, therefore, have suffered much, and might have been forced to retire, and leave our cities open to the enemy. I do not boast of this, nor of any other service. It was my duty to render all that I could, and I certainly did. I never mentioned it otherwise than in reference to my claims. But

when justice is withheld from me, in instances in which it is fairly due, by the withholding of which I have suffered so much, and am still suffering, it is natural that the saving derived to my country, from this service, should recur to my recollection.

Whoever takes the trouble to examine my claims, will find that they have stood on peculiar ground; that they did not involve the simple question only, in what manner the accounts for the important missions, to which I was appointed, should be settled, and for what extra expenses and advances interest should be allowed me, in the settlement. The account for each mission was settled in due time, after my return from it, and injustice done me by the settlement. An inquiry has been made, why did I not apply for justice sooner? An answer will be found in the observations which I presented to the first committee, to whom my claims were referred, and in the remarks which follow; which is, that I could never ask of one administration, what had not been allowed by another; that such claims could be settled by congress alone, and that there never was a time when I could make the appeal to that body prior to that, of which I availed myself the moment preceding my retirement from the late office, to be decided on after my retirement.

When an injury is done to a citizen, especially by the settlement of his accounts with the government, the ordinary rules of limitation and interest do not apply. The delay in making the application for redress is a proof of respect, and the obligation on the government to make reparation, to the full extent of the injury, the more forcible. The motive to urge those claims, in reference to my private interest, was strong, but I did not yield to it. I encountered the difficulties arising from the injury I had sustained, in seeking redress, by a reliance on my private resources, by loans, and the pledge of my private property. The length of the delay, as I was taken almost through the whole interval in the service of my country, during which I could pay little attention to my private concerns, and which suffered by neglect, could not fail to augment considerably those debts. In presenting my claims to congress, I nevertheless asked nothing which I did not know was strictly due to me, with interest on the sums from the time they became due till paid. Had the sums claimed been granted

promptly, and in full extent, it is possible that I might have made such an arrangement with my creditors, by means thereof, with the aid of my property, as would have been satisfactory to them, and have retained a provision for my family : But the rejection of a large portion of those claims, with the fall in the value of property, nearly one half of what it would have sold for ten or twelve years since, has had an effect which I did not anticipate.

It is a fair object of inquiry, when a citizen who has long and faithfully served his country, in important trusts and difficult conjunctions, has been injured in the settlement of his accounts for such service, or any portion of it, whereby he has sustained great and heavy losses, whether the mere payment of the sums thus withheld, with interest on them, is the only reparation which ought to be made to him ; whether some indemnity is not due for the losses thus brought on him. Heretofore I have looked to no such object, because I was willing to bear the losses which my zeal, in the service of my country, had exposed me, while I believed that my resources, with the aid of such allowances, would enable me to fulfil my engagements, and retain a very limited support for my family : But under existing circumstances, I have no hesitation to declare, that I think some such indemnity ought to be made to me.

VIRGINIA, November, 1826.

REMARKS ON THE CLAIMS OF MR. MONROE

REFERRED TO IN HIS MEMOIR.

OBJECTIONS have been raised to the allowance of interest on Mr. Monroe's claims, and in several instances to the claims themselves. I propose to examine these objections, and in doing which I shall advert to the argument only, and not to the spirit with which the objections are urged, nor to the quarter whence they come. If well founded, they ought to have weight. If not, they ought to be disregarded.

It will be proper, in the proposed investigation, to proceed with the items, in the order in which they stand, commencing with those of the first mission. To do justice to the subject, a repetition of what has been already suggested, will be unavoidable. To comprehend the force of objections, the claim must be stated, and to repel them, the reasons which were advanced in its support, when presented, must be repeated. I shall, however, be as concise as the nature of the case will permit.

The first item in his claims for the first, is for compensation for the three months and twenty days, the term of his detention in France after his recall. To this it is objected, that the office having ceased, the compensation should cease also : that his delay in France, afterwards, was voluntary, and that, on the same principle, he might have claimed it for a year, if he had remained there that term. The fact was otherwise. Mr. M. was recalled, at a season, being in the winter, when it would have been dangerous to have sailed had he been able to have obtained a suitable vessel, in which to have embarked with his family. It is shewn, however, by the evidence of impartial and very respectable citizens, that such a vessel could not at that time be procured. The ports

of France were generally blockaded by British cruisers, and our commerce much interrupted otherwise, with that country. He was detained through the winter, by compulsion, and finally forced to go to the most distant port, that of Bordeaux, to find a vessel in which he could sail. To dismiss a minister from office, on a belief that he did not perform his duty, or was placed by circumstances, in a situation to be less able to perform it than others might, and at a period when he could not leave the country, and to take from him, during that term, the salary allowed to the office, thereby subjecting him to heavy expenses, which he could not avoid, bears on its face the strong mark of injustice. His claims rest on the principle, not of a resignation of his office, and voluntary delay in the country, for the term specified, but of a dismission from it, at a time when he could not leave the country. It appears that he never asked, or would accept any allowance for it, from any subsequent administration. That there never was a time when he thought it proper to bring it forward, sooner than that of which he availed himself, the period of his retirement from office; and that he would submit it then only to congress, who might examine it, on its merits, impartially, with a view to all the circumstances connected with it, and without reference to the individual concerned.

The second item claims an additional allowance for contingent expenses in that mission, and to which an objection is also raised. Mr. M. was allowed for the whole mission, only 110 dollars. It cannot be doubted, when the circumstances attending it are duly weighed, that not a single month elapsed, during the whole term, in which a larger sum was not expended. The crisis was unexampled in modern times. The ancient despotism had been overthrown, and the power transferred, by a sudden compulsion, to the people, who, unused to its exercise, had, with blind enthusiasm, committed it to leaders who quarrelled among themselves, those of the prevailing party cutting off the others, thereby disgracing the revolution, and sapping the foundation on which it rested. Every port of France was filled with our vessels, which had been seized, many of which had been condemned, and others were under trial. His predecessor, disregarded, had retired to the country. Our fellow-citizens were without resource, and in

the most distressed and despondent state. He was, for a time, distrusted, and kept at a distance, by the Committee of Public Safety, in whom the executive power, in regard to foreign nations, was vested. On due consideration he passed the Committee, and addressed the Convention, by whom he was received the next day, in the bosom of that body, in the presence, and amid the acclamations, of many thousands. It was natural, after the distinguished reception thus given him, that his suffering countrymen should flock to his house for relief. The fact was so, as hundreds now living can testify, and, in consequence whereof his duties were accumulated ten fold beyond the usual amount. He states that he was forced to employ, through the whole of his mission, several assistant secretaries, and to rent a house for them, and to incur many other heavy expenses, the extent of which can readily be conceived, when the character of the epoch is regarded, and the state in which he found our affairs on his arrival there. The expenses which he incurred in regard to Thomas Paine alone were considerable. Would it have been proper for him to have suffered an individual, who had rendered such useful services in our revolution, to languish in prison, or to want the common necessaries of life, after obtaining his release? With Mr. Paine, Mr. M. was scarcely acquainted. The appeal to him, therefore, was in his official character only. For these expenses he asked nothing. Whether they ought to fall on him, or on the nation, others will decide. They ought, at least, to have weight in the decision on other claims. That no other minister of the United States was ever placed in such a situation; compelled to employ so many assistant secretaries for such a length of time; to rent a separate house for their accommodation, and otherwise exposed to such heavy contributions and expenses is certain. To allow him, therefore, the sum only which has been allowed in other cases, would be manifestly unjust.

[1] The claims for the second mission consist of four items. The first is for interest on the outfit for the mission, for the term during which it was withheld, and to interest on the amount of

[1] [Note in original.] "See Mr. Jefferson's Letter among the documents to be hereafter given."

that sum to the present time. I will ask, whether any minister was ever sent from the United States under circumstances which exposed him inevitably to such expenses? Whether an outfit was ever refused to any minister, before or since, who was employed in any mission? Other ministers, who were employed on official missions, were sent to a single power, with instructions to return as soon as the business on which they were sent should be concluded. They left their families at home, and were absent generally about a year, and in some instances a shorter term. For these missions, an outfit was always allowed to the ministers employed in them. Mr. M. on the contrary, was appointed to two powers at the same time, France and Spain, and was informed that the state of affairs might require his long absence. He took his family with him, and was absent nearly five years, during which he represented his country with three powers, France and Spain, to which he was originally appointed, and likewise with Great Britain, moving occasionally from the one to the other. Great and unusual expenses were inseparable from such a mission, and that the withholding the outfit must have increased his difficulties, and subjected him to corresponding losses, is equally obvious.

It has, it is understood, been the practice of the government to advance to our ministers, in many instances, a portion of their salary in addition to their outfit, on their appointment. Leaving their homes, their affairs, and many of them their professions, some aid might be necessary, even to those in the best circumstances, to enable them to do so in a satisfactory manner, and without loss. A quarter's salary would generally become due before they could reach their stations. An advance, at least, to that amount, seems reasonable and proper, and it is said that, on some occasions, and on special missions to a single power, a larger portion of the salary has been advanced, in addition to the outfit. If such allowance and extra advance would be proper in any instance, it would certainly have been so, in that in question. Mr. M. had sustained a considerable loss by his former mission, from which he had not recovered, and was hurried by the presence of circumstances, and by the President, to his stations abroad, for which he sailed, without having previously visited his own home.

But the outfit was refused, and no portion of the salary advanced. He was allowed his expenses to Paris, including those of a journey from his home to New York, and his expenses in travelling between the places at which he might be required to attend,—that is, between Paris and Madrid, and for which expenses, $9,000 were advanced to him; a sum which it was presumed would be equivalent to those expenses, but not exceed them. With this advance, for which he was held accountable, in the manner stated, he was compelled to arrange his affairs, and hasten to New York, and then to France.

His appointment to England was not made when he left the United States, nor known to him until after the treaties with France for the cession of Louisiana had been concluded, and ratified by the French government, and despatched by Mr. Livingston and himself to their own, and after he had requested of the French government a passport for Madrid,[1] with intention to proceed thither, in obedience to his instructions, to negotiate a treaty for the cession of Florida. It was at that time, Mr. King having left England, that he received his appointment for London, with a discretionary power to proceed thither or not, as circumstances might make most advisable. Experiencing, at that moment, some difficulty with the French government respecting the proposed negotiation with Spain, and knowing that the success of the negotiation would essentially depend on the part the French government might take in it, whose aid had been promised, and which he was then assured should be afforded on a future occasion, he resolved to proceed forthwith to England, and to postpone his mission to Spain until the treaties with France should be received, and if approved be ratified by his government, and an order sent to him by it, on a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, to proceed to Spain. Accordingly, he proceeded to England, and the mission being stationary, and not a special one, an outfit was allowed as a thing of course. It was, however, special in all the circumstances connected with expense; for, expecting an order to proceed to Spain in a few months, he could

[1] [Note in original.] "See letter to Mr. Talleyrand, May 19th, 1803, among the documents."

make none of those arrangements which, as a stationary or resident minister, he might and doubtless would have done, to avoid it. He remained in England in that state fourteen months, when he received the order from his government to proceed to Madrid, and to take Paris in his route for the purpose stated, which he promptly obeyed, in the expectation of returning home through England, as soon as that mission should be concluded, after a delay of a few weeks at London, to conclude an important negotiation which had been commenced and left unfinished, on his departure for Spain.

For the sum which was advanced to Mr. M. on his appointment to this, his second mission, he was held accountable, and he has accounted for it. As the advance was made on account of the expenses of his voyage and journey to Paris, and of his mission to Spain, and as his expenses on his arrival at Paris, where he was well known to all in power, would be great, the application of a large portion of it to his private concerns before his departure, could not fail to subject him to serious embarrassment on his arrival at his station. It is not contended that he failed either there or elsewhere, to apply the sums necessary to support the credit of the station, whence it must follow, as the salaries allowed to our ministers, especially to the principal powers, are altogether inadequate, being not even one fifth of the salaries which those powers respectively allow to their ministers, that he must have been straitened everywhere. That he was so at home, is apparent from the sale, if not the sacrifice of his property in his absence, and that he was so abroad, may fairly be inferred by the debts which now press on him, and which threaten to absorb the residue.

When Mr. Monroe's account was settled for his second mission, it appears that for the mission to France, he was allowed nothing except his salary ; that no allowance was made to enable him to settle his affairs at home before his departure, nor to bear his expenses from home to New York, nor for his detention there for his instructions, and for his voyage and journey thence to Paris, nor for the heavy expenses incident to his arrival and residence in Paris during the negotiation, except the salary. The money which had been advanced to him for these latter objects, was

diverted from them, and charged to his outfit to England, with which mission he was unacquainted, until all those expenses had been incurred. By the settlement in this mode, he was brought in debt rather more than nine thousand dollars. Had the settlement been made on the principle on which the money was advanced, making due allowance for those expenses, and for the sum paid for his passage in a vessel in which he did not sail, the balance, doubtless, would have been less by nearly three thousand dollars, which sum, whatever it might have been, would have been deducted, and by which the balance would have been reduced in equal amount. But, by allowing the outfit, in the settlement, and thereby changing the principle on which the money was advanced, that the sum was excluded, and in consequence, the balance augmented in equal degree. As he fell in debt, at the time of the settlement, little more than the amount of the outfit, after charging him with every cent which he had received in his several missions, in satisfaction of which debt the outfit was admitted, it follows that, if it had been advanced at the time of his appointment, he would have owed nothing, and would have avoided, in other respects, great embarrassment and loss. It is further to be observed, that if the sum expended in his journey and voyage to Paris, and the salary due him on his arrival there, are deducted from the amount advanced before he sailed, although the outfit had not been allowed, the accommodation afforded him by that advance would have been trifling. To withhold money from him, on a principle which was admitted to be untenable and given up; by the withholding of which he was brought in debt to the public, and to give to such debt the character of an outfit, which had been disclaimed and refused, and on such assumed character, to refuse interest on the outfit for the time it was withheld, and interest on the amount thereof, at the time it was allowed, from that time till paid, would appear strange. The injustice of it would be the greater, and more manifest, from the consideration that, if the proper allowance had been made when the account was settled for the extra expenses incident to his detention in England, the two years and four months after his return from Spain, the equity of which was then admitted, the government would have been considerably in his debt

The difference between the allowance of the outfit at the time of his appointment, before his departure, and at the end of his mission, on the settlement of his account, and for the payment of a debt, besides the mortification of being placed in that state, may readily be conceived. Had it been allowed in the first stage, the money would have been his own. He would have been accountable to no one for the application of it, and he might have availed himself of it for his private engagements, as well as his public duties, according to a just calculation, and correct sense of the obligation in each instance. But, by refusing the outfit at the time of his appointment, on a principle of economy, and making the advance for special purposes, his hands were tied up in the use of it, and it may be distinctly seen, from a detailed view of the account, as settled on his return, as well as by the effect produced upon his property at home, that a small sum of the money advanced to him on his appointment, was applied to his private purposes. Although his expenses to Paris, and at Paris on his arrival, and in the negotiation, had been considerable, yet it appears, from a view of the account, when he received his appointment to England, that the public were indebted to him a portion of his salary, or rather, that he had not drawn for it on the bankers, from whom he was authorized to receive it. It appears also, that, at the end of the year, while in England, although no allowance was made to him in the settlement, on the principle on which the money had been advanced before he sailed, and that advance was charged against him on a new principle, and applied to his outfit to England, that they were still indebted to him. It was by his long detention in England, before he received his order to proceed to Spain, and his detention there after his return from Spain, under the circumstances heretofore stated, that his expenses and debts accumulated to such an amount that the interest on the outfit and the amount of his other claims, if allowed, however liberally viewed, will fall far short of the demands against him, and for which he must pay, by the sale of his private property. Mr. Monroe never owed to his country one cent. On the contrary, his country has been indebted to him by the rules applicable to others, from his first mission to France, of 1794, to the present time, and no trifling sum, especially if

the amount is estimated by the effect produced on his private property.[1]

To how many of the public servants, paymasters, quartermasters, and others, does the government advance money, to enable them to satisfy the just claims of others, which they retain in their hands, in part, for years, and without demanding from them interest for it, or making any deduction from their just claims, on the settlement of their accounts, for such advances? When the nature of the trust which was committed to this individual and more especially its importance, are considered, of which a just idea may be formed by a perusal of the letter of Mr. Jefferson, then President, who kindly permitted it to be communicated to the Committee, does it not appear that the motive was peculiarly urgent for making a very liberal advance to him? And if the advance made was from motives of economy, which are always commendable, especially in a republic, more limited than had ever been made to any other minister, in times and under circumstances, in all respects more favorable, can any just cause be assigned, why the injury resulting from it, so far, at least, as to place him on a footing with others, with the common allowance of interest on the sum withheld, should not be repaired? It should be recollected that this appointment had not been sought nor expected, that he was taken from the bar, to which he had just returned, and with a fair prospect of success, after having served his native state, the constitutional term of three years, in the office of chief magistrate and under circumstances of great difficulty, arising from his former mission.

On the second item of this the second mission, the claim being for money paid for a passage, engaged in a vessel in which he did not sail, no comment need be made; nor need there be any on the third, which relates to the contingent expenses of that mission. He claims only, in the latter instance, a corresponding allowance

[1] [Note in original.] "See Colonel Lewis's letter among the documents. I met him by accident on a late visit to Albemarle, and requested him to state the amount of the money, which I advanced to him on my departure from the United States, on my last mission, the sum which would have prevented the sale of my property in my absence, the price received for it, and the present prices, which he has done."

with that which was made to Mr. King, under circumstances more favourable to economy, Mr. King having been then a large portion of his time in peace; whereas, during the whole term of Mr. Monroe's service, war prevailed. It is known that a state of peace is more favourable to economy than a state of war, in all contingent expenses, and indeed in every other, and especially in the article of postage, which is very heavy in England. The full allowance made to Mr. King, is, therefore deemed only a fair one to Mr. Monroe.

The fourth and last item is for extraordinary expenses incurred by his detention in England, after his return from Spain, two years and four months, by which, having the permission of the President to return home, and being prepared to do it, from month to month, he was exposed to the greatest degree of expense that any mission could be subjected to. The causes of detention, as enumerated by him, and known by the Union, were such as would have made it highly improper for him to have sailed sooner than he did, had he had a vessel engaged and waiting for him at the port the whole time. The seizure of our vessels, by an order founded on the principle of that of November, 1793, and against which he remonstrated, in the most decisive terms was one. A negotiation ensued, which he could not abandon. The special mission, on which the peace of the Union hung, was another. The attack on the Chesapeake, to which his attention was drawn by his government, and which involved consequences not less serious, was a third. Had he withdrawn at such a crisis, neglecting these high concerns of our country, be the expense attending his detention what it might, he would have incurred and merited the censure of his fellow-citizens, throughout the Union. Shall these extra expenses fall on him, or be defrayed by the public? The fact is they have fallen on him, and are among the causes of a like kind, which have subjected him to debts and losses, for which the reparation claimed cannot indemnify him. This claim was presented in 1810, when his account was settled, and, as is stated, the equity being admitted, was suspended, by the order of the President, for further consideration, and has never been acted on since. Mr. Monroe was soon afterwards called into the department of state, in which he had official cognizance

of the subject. From that office he was elected President, by which event his power over it was augmented. It requires no argument to prove, that during the whole time of his service in these offices, he could not touch the subject. We see, on the contrary, by the documents reported, that he would decide on no claim which involved the same principle with his own.

Such are the claims of Mr. Monroe, and the ground on which they rest, and it is not perceived on what sound principle they, or either of them, can be rejected, with the interest on each, from the time that it became due till paid. If injustice was done to him, by withholding the money to which he was entitled, in any instance, no good cause can be assigned, for refusing to render justice to him at this time. Was any allowance made to him, in other instances, in his missions, or was more expended by him, in any branch of his services, than was expended in a like service, by others? Nothing of the kind can be alleged with truth. No accommodation was afforded to him, in any instance, which was not afforded to every other minister, and the utmost economy was practised by him throughout his several missions, which was practicable. He claims only to be put on a footing with others, under circumstances which exposed him to greater expenses than they, and in the instances in which a difference was made to his prejudice, simply by the payment of the money, which, on that principle, was due, with interest on it from the time it became due till paid. He does not ask an indemnity for losses, sustained by the withholding the money from him in the way of damages, however just the claim might be. What that would amount to has not been stated, but it may be shown that it would be great. Nor has he asked compound interest, which he has been compelled to pay himself.

As to the period at which the interest should commence on well founded claims, that seems to be too obvious, and is too well established in transactions between individuals in private life, to admit a doubt. When did the money become due, if due at all? Where was he at the time, and on what account did it become due? Each item speaks for itself. Those of the first mission became for the contingencies, annually, and for his detention in France during the winter, when he could not leave

the country, at the time he sailed, which was on the 20th of April, 1797. Those of the second mission, on the outfit withheld, from the time of his appointment till paid or allowed. On the payment of Mr. Hicks, for the passage engaged for him and his family in a vessel in which they did not sail, from the date of the payment made to him. For the contingencies in England, and expenses incurred by his detention after his return from Spain, annually for the one, and on the termination of his mission in the other; though I am inclined to think it should be annually in both. At those periods, the money claimed was expended by him, and much more, and, not having the funds himself, was borrowed, and is still due, on which he has paid an interest, simple and compound, for a great part of the sum, through the whole intervening space. To fix the commencement of the interest allowed to him to later periods, would not be to render to him justice, especially after so long a delay. He was in France, or England, when the money was expended, and he could not meet the expenses, nor get home, without borrowing it, nor borrow without paying the interest on it.

Such claims should not be settled by the ordinary rules which apply to transactions at home, because the situation of the party is different, and in circumstances of peculiar interest to the country as well as to the individual. The character of our republic, which is looked at with jealousy by the monarchs of Europe, is connected, not only with the official conduct of the minister, but with every incident attending him while there. For the errors, and even the vices, of the ministers of each other, liberal allowances are made, but no such indulgence is shown to us. He must support the rank of the station while at their respective courts, and until his retirement from their countries, or his nation will be degraded. Simplicity at home, even among the most wealthy of our citizens, is commendable. The spirit of our government requires it. But in our intercourse with foreign powers, in the grade in question, some accommodation, with the usages of each, in their respective countries is necessary. To depart from it is deemed a contempt, and cannot fail to be productive of injury. The burden of these

charges fell with great force on Mr. Monroe in his last mission. A minister to a single power may, after establishing himself, retire from society if he chooses, and, supporting a decent appearance when forced into it may sustain his credit. But one who is minister at the same time to three of the principal powers of Europe, and who moves from one to the other, is always in the circle of those who compose the court of each, and exposed, in consequence, and by necessity, to the greatest expense possible.

The act of limitation has been urged as an objection to these claims, but can it be plead against a person who has been almost the whole of his time in the service of his country, and a large portion of it, when not abroad, in stations which rendered it impossible for him to touch the subject? Can the act of limitation ever be plead by the government in its own favour, to justify a refusal to repair an injury done by itself, especially to an individual who has refrained, from delicacy and a regard to principle only, to press his claims? Could he have refused to obey the voice of his country, in any instance, when called on, and have assigned as a reason, that money was due him for former services, and until that was paid he would render no other? Was it not rather his duty to obey the call; and is it not fair to presume that he would have obeyed it, in the difficult conjunctures in which he has served, be the effect on his claims what it might. Did not such call wave any plea of this kind, even had it been well founded?

To enumerate the large amount of salaries which Mr. Monroe has received in the important offices which he has held, is only to show the great length of time which he has served. Were the salaries intended for the profit of the individual, or to support the credit of the office? If the latter, to retire from office under the pressure of heavy debts, is a proof that he was not unmindful of what he owed his country. That he held more offices than many others, is owing to the generous confidence of his fellow-citizens; for it is certain that he has been called to those of high importance, in his absence and without his knowledge, of which several examples might be given, if it were necessary to enter into the subject in that view. One he noticed

in the observations which he presented to the committee at the last session, because he deemed it material to his claim. Beyond that he did not go. To have devoted his services to his country, almost the whole of his life, from very early youth in the highest offices, and at the most dangerous epochs, unprofitable to himself, is all that could be expected of any citizen. To have his private property, which he held before he entered into those offices, swept from him at the expiration of his service, for the payment of debts contracted, under the circumstances stated, is an injury to which no citizen ought to be subjected.

In Mr. Monroe's first mission to France, some incidents occurred which could not fail to prove a cause of serious affliction to him, and to which it may not be improper to advert here. In consideration of the divisions which prevailed among us, at that very interesting epoch, and the part he had acted in them, he accepted a trust which exposed him, in the discharge of its duties, to the jealousy and suspicions of those with whom he had differed in political sentiment ; while, on the other hand, he was bound, as well by self respect as a regard to principle, to maintain the character which he had held before he accepted it. He had the most unbounded confidence in the integrity and patriotism of the President, as he likewise had in his power to administer the government on its principles, and to give it a fair experiment. He had equal confidence in his attachment to those principles, and in his desire that it might succeed. A stroke from him, therefore, could not fail to be deeply felt. He nevertheless made, in moments of calm reflection, a just allowance for the difficulty of the situation in which he had been placed, by the course of events, and cherished for him, especially after the report made to him by Dr. Edwards, founded on a conference with the President, that his honor and integrity had not been suspected, the same feelings and profound respect which he had found for him when a youth, and a subaltern under him in the revolutionary contest. Mr. M. was soon afterwards called to the government of his own State, and it was his intention, as his motive could not then have been suspected, to have made advances to him, but was shocked, as he entered Richmond, by the melancholy account of his death.

That Mr. M. did full justice to his country, and to the principles and character of the President, seems to be admitted. If any doubt remained of it, it must, it is presumed, be removed by the documents now furnished, and which, although he has long possessed them, were never used before.

In connexion with this interesting portion of his service, and period of his life, it seems proper to notice another incident, the nature of which was much misrepresented at the time. After the distinguished reception which was given to him by the National Convention, in the hall of that assembly, the Committee of Public Safety offered to him a house for his accommodation, as the Minister of the United States, in any part of Paris he would designate. They sent to him at the same time a carriage and horses which were appropriated to his use. The house he promptly declined, on the principle that the acceptance of it was forbidden by an article of our Constitution. The carriage and horses he retained a few weeks, and then returned them, with a request that he might be permitted to pay for their use, in the same manner as if they had been furnished by an individual, and that permission might also be granted to him to purchase other horses, which, under the existing laws of France, was then necessary. Both requests were granted. as the original documents, presented to the committee will shew. Shortly after this, a house was offered to him by an individual for sale, and which, on the best advice he could obtain there, at the time, of his fellow-citizens and others, he purchased ; declaring publicly that he bought it for his use as minister of the United States, and with intention to offer it to his government, when he should retire, on the same conditions that he had bought it. Having refused the house that had been offered to him, and requested permission to pay, and having paid, for the use of the horses which had been sent to him, he was fearful that the temper which had been manifested on his arrival might be revived, and have an ill effect, which he indulged a hope that this step would prevent. He resided in that house until the termination of his mission ; at which time, being recalled, and his successor, for whom he had a high respect, not being received, the existing relations between his government and

himself, and between the two countries, rendered such offer altogether improper.

Thus circumstanced, he sold the house for somewhat more than he gave for it, including the expense of repair, of which sum half the amount stipulated only was paid, a claim being set up under a lien on the property, or a part of it, as was believed, fraudulently, to extort money from him, knowing that he must leave the country, whereby the payment of the balance was thus prevented. To enable him to leave the country, as soon as he could procure a passage home, he borrowed the amount of a fellow citizen, a friend, giving him a power to receive the balance when paid, if ever, with a mortgage on a tract of land in Clay county, Kentucky, of 20,000 acres, and a power to sell it, if necessary, whenever the necessity should arrive. In that state the affair has since rested, the importance of the affairs committed to him, in his next mission, and their pressure in different countries not allowing him to look into it. The land, however, has remained since that period appropriated to that object, and no hope is now entertained that it will ever be relieved from it.

By this view it will appear that Mr. M. has not only derived no emolument from his public offices, but has suffered much by them; while it is presumed that it will be equally manifest, however great his suffering has been, that he has not been diverted from his public duties by considerations of a private nature.

To occurrences of more recent date some attention is now due, not with a view to pecuniary indemnity, but to an object of infinitely higher importance, in the estimation through life, that of his character, which it is known has been assailed in some of these occurrences. During the last fourteen years, he has held offices in the Federal City, and has resided there in the departments of state and war, and in the office of chief magistrate. He will touch on those points only on which attacks have been made, and for the sole purpose of explanation and vindication, not to boast of services, nor of the manner in which they were rendered: for those are points which are left to the important judgment of his fellow citizens, and of posterity. On his conduct in the department of state, no attack has been made, and of course no defence of it is necessary. To the department of war he was

called twice, the first on the resignation of Mr. Eustis, when he held it about six weeks. The second, on the resignation of General Armstrong, from which time he held it to the end of the war. He came into it, in the latter instance, after the fall of Washington, and not before it, and not at his own instance, or by his desire, but at that of the President, who was well acquainted with his conduct in what related to the military occurrences of that epoch, and likewise at the instance of his fellow citizens of the surrounding country, who earnestly wished and pressed it. With his exertions to save the city and country, after the enemy landed at Benedict, the whole of the District, and it may be said of the neighboring community, were acquainted. He acted as a volunteer, without authority, but he rendered all the service that he could render as a citizen. The facts relating to that occurrence have been often misrepresented, and the misrepresentation being generally known, has, on that account, been disregarded. But it is due to the cause of truth, and to the character of the then President, as well as to that of Mr. M. and others, that a faithful digest of them be made, and be preserved. There is not one important fact connected with that event, from the landing of the enemy at Benedict, to his entrance into the city, which cannot be proved by some hundreds, if not thousands of citizens, who were spectators thereof, and it is important that the digest be now made and proved, the parties being now living, that it may be handed down to posterity in its true character.

After this distressing and mortifying event occurred, Mr. M. was invited by the President into the Department of War, and he accepted it, resigning his office as Secretary of the Department of State, whose duties he had discharged to the satisfaction of the President, and of the country, and in which he risked nothing, and accepted one which subjected him to the highest degree of responsibility that it was possible for him to be exposed to. The Department of State was then offered to Governor Tomkins, who declined it, on a belief that his services would be more useful to his country, in the office which he then held as Governor of the State of New York. Col. M. was in consequence charged by the President, under a law which

authorized him to make temporary appointments, with the Department of State also. Is there any point in his conduct, in the Department of War, on which an attack can be made and supported? Such attack is invited, as it has been, and is now repeated, on his whole conduct in all the offices which he has held through life. If made, let the Generals now living, who commanded at the different sections of our Union which were invaded by powerful armies of the enemy, be appealed to, and asked, if anything was neglected on his part, necessary to give effect to their splendid operations. With their answers he will be satisfied.

At the expiration of the term of his illustrious and virtuous predecessor, he was elected to the office of Chief Magistrate, which he held eight years, and, on his conduct in that office, some attacks have been made, of which notice will likewise now be taken.

He was denounced for the inspection which he made of our maritime and inland frontiers, to enable him to decide, with greater competency, on the reports which might be made to him by the Board, which had been instituted by the government, as to the positions at which our fortifications should be erected for military and naval purposes. Nothing was more natural, after his election, than that he should make that inspection; having had experience in our revolutionary war; having seen works of the kind in Europe; and having also had experience in the late war. It could not fail to draw the attention of the nation forcibly to the object, nor could it fail to give an useful stimulus to the officers who were engaged in those works. For such an inspection our General Officers, who make it annually over their respective districts, are rewarded; and it cannot be doubted, regarding the epoch and the object, that it was equally necessary, and the duty of the Chief Magistrate, then to make it.

In his missions abroad, in which he saw that we were incessantly menaced with war by some of the principle powers in Europe, his attention had been drawn to the defenceless condition of our coast with deep interest, and it may be recollected that, in signing the treaty with England, he considered that treaty as the alternative to war, and that the defenceless condition

of the coast was among his strong motives for signing it.[1] War afterwards ensued with that power, and the waste and desolation of the coast, the loss of the lives of our citizens by exposures and otherwise, were fresh in his memory. It cannot be doubted, if our coast had been well fortified before the war commenced, that these calamities would have been greatly diminished, and, in the expenses attending it, thirty or forty millions of dollars, at least, would have been saved. No blame is attached to any one, that these fortifications had not been erected before. They had been recommended by all his predecessors, but their recommendations, except those of his immediate predecessor, under whom the system was commenced with new vigour, were not aided by the admonitions derived from the late war. It was to gain the knowledge necessary to enable him to discharge with propriety his own duties, and to give a new stimulus to these important objects, that he made that inspection. It will be recollected, that he made it at his own expense, and that, in so doing, he availed himself of the only resource then at his command, by applying it to an useful and necessary purpose of the government, and at a fair equivalent, leaving the transaction under the control of Congress, as it still is; and that, for so doing, the most mortifying abuse has been bestowed on him, and, it may be added, considering the source from whence it came, and the manner of the proceeding, no slight degree of persecution.

It is proper to observe that, while acting in the Department of War, and especially in the interval between the resignation of Mr. Campbell and the acceptance and establishment of Mr. Dallas in the Department of the Treasury, he had a great agency, as stated, in the observations which he presented to the committee at the last session, in obtaining loans of money, and in application thereof, in the course of the war, to the support of our military operations. By reference to the documents in the Department of War, it will be found, that that agency, which was carried in many instances to actual loans, amounted to several millions of dollars, and for which service, although his duties, already

[1] [Note in original.] See his letter to the Secretary of State, Richmond, February 28, 1808.—State Papers, vol. vi., page 426.

great, were to an oppressive degree augmented by it, he never asked one cent. It is a service, however, which forces itself to his recollection at this time, and which, in his opinion, ought not to be lost sight of in the consideration of claims which he deems just, when resting on their separate and intrinsic merits.[1]

[1] [Note in original.] See Mr. Ringgold's Deposition—printed in last report of the Committee.

DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATING AND SUPPORTING THE VIEWS URGED BY MR. MONROE, IN HIS MEMOIR AND REMARKS.

WITH SUCH PRELIMINARY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AS ARE NECESSARY TO THEIR PROPER UNDERSTANDING.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO MR. MONROE'S FIRST MISSION TO FRANCE.

[Mr. Skipwith accompanied Mr. Monroe to France in this mission as Secretary. The state of our commerce there, on Mr. Monroe's arrival, and the pressure on him requiring the aid of a consul, and one with whom he was acquainted, and in whose rectitude and decision he could confide, he appointed Mr. Skipwith provisionally, to that office, and in which he was confirmed by the President. Mr. M. made this appointment with the greater confidence, because he had taken him as Secretary, on the suggestion of Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State, that it would be gratifying to the President if he did so.—With others whom Mr. M. then employed as assistant Secretaries, was M. Gouvain, the author of the following document, who spoke both languages very correctly. Mr. M. took him on the recommendation of many of our respectable citizens, who were connected in commerce with his family, a very respectable one at Havre. He remained with Mr. M. nearly two years, attended him in many interviews with the French government, and the members individually who composed it, and was very useful.]

MR. GOUVAIN'S LETTER.

I owe it to my own conscience to show the great injustice which has been done to Mr. Monroe, by the imputations which have been raised against his conduct and intentions, during his mission to the French Republic.

From the time of my appointment as Mr. M's Secretary to the epoch at which my domestic affairs compelled me to relinquish the office of Secretary, which I held near this Minister, I had it in my power to follow all his measures with the greatest accuracy, because I lived constantly with him, and assisted as interpreter in all the conferences which took place between him and the French Government, and translated not only the official but private notes, which he presented to that government, and likewise all those which he received, without exception.

To confound the calumniators of Mr. Monroe, as Minister of the United States to the French Republic, it will be sufficient to go back to the epoch of his arrival in France, and to retrace the actual state of the political relations which then existed between the two governments. The French government was never nearer a rupture with the United States than it then was. A considerable number of American vessels had then been seized by French privateers, and carried into their ports; many cargoes had been condemned, and many crews imprisoned. In fine, the treaty of 1778, with the United States of America, had been broken in such a manner by the French, that it might be considered as annulled.

Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Monroe arrived in France, and nothing less than the unwearied zeal, and great prudence which he displayed in these circumstances, could have succeeded to obtain the reparation of the infractions made by the French, of the treaty of 1778. Not only did he succeed in obtaining of the French government an indemnity to the American merchants and captains, for the detention of their vessels, crews, &c. &c. but by the firmness which he shewed, and the consideration which he observed towards the committees of the government, he finished, by restoring to its full vigor, and in full extent, the treaty of friendship and commerce of 1778; a treaty which, as is well

known, could not be more advantageous to the enemies of France, as one of its articles stipulated, that the property acknowledged to belong to an enemy, found on board an American vessel, should be respected in the same manner, as if it belonged to American citizens. This act was the more generous on the part of the French government, from the consideration that at this epoch, the English did not hesitate to seize almost every American vessel on the slightest suspicion that they were charged on French account, as was seen, especially in the trade with the West Indies.

To give a just idea of the difficulties which Mr. Monroe had to surmount, to obtain an object so desirable for the prosperity of the United States, that of restoring the confidence and friendship which had before existed between the two governments, it is essential to state the personal dispositions of the members of the Convention, who composed then the diplomatic section of the French government. How many scenes have I not witnessed, in which Mr. Monroe has been forced to hear the most cutting sarcasms against his government and its members! With what warmth has he not defended them, and what means has he not employed to calm their spirits! Threillard, Thuriott, and Merlin de Douay, composed then the diplomatic section of the Committee of Public Safety. One cited advice received from America, from the French agents, who complained bitterly of the injustice which they said was committed daily against the French, by the administrative departments, and as they concluded in accord with the spirit of their government, who protected, to the utmost of their ability, the English party, to the prejudice of the French. Others reproached, openly, the Americans, of indifference for France in a war, in which they seemed to insinuate, that the United States ought to lend them assistance, and especially by loans of money. At length they charged the Americans with the blackest ingratitude towards France, for the important services rendered in the conquest of their independence, which they said could not have been obtained without the aid which France had given them.

In one of the conferences, that which mortified Mr. Monroe beyond all expression, was the opinion which they declared respecting the President, General Washington. They painted him

as a man intoxicated with ambition, and who would finish by usurping soon all the powers with which he was invested. They reproached this President, more especially, with having shewn a marked partiality for the declared enemies of France; with having received with zeal into his house French emigrants; and they declared how much they were disgusted by his preservation in his appartments with the greatest care, the portrait of Lewis XVI.

It was then that Mr. Monroe raised himself with the greatest firmness, with which he was inspired by his esteem for a man whose virtue and patriotism had, till then, commanded the admiration of the whole world, and for whom he had personally the greatest veneration. He called to mind the services which General Washington had rendered to liberty; the sacrifices which he had made in that cause, and, above all, the acknowledged morality of his principles. He used arguments the most persuasive, to convince the Committee of the friendly disposition of the President for France, and of the sincerity of the declarations which he had made in his name, at the time of his admission into the bosom of the National Convention.

Animated with an unceasing desire to serve his country, and to preserve to it peace, Mr. Monroe was not restrained by any of these obstacles, but continued with the greatest courage to press the Committee to accede to his just reclamations. Each day he gained ground, and soon conciliated the esteem and personal friendship of the members of the committee. He did not fail to turn this happy incident to the advantage of his mission, and availing himself often of personal conferences, at one time with one of the members of the committee, and at another with others, in spite of the repugnance which these last shewed, in consequence of the difference which existed in the political views between him and them, he forced them in some measure to hear him, and to change their opinion in favour of the United States. He often spoke to them of the perfect union which ought to exist between the two nations, and of the mutual advantage which would result from it to both, in a political as well as in a commercial point of view.

It was by occupying himself, without ceasing, that he succeeded so happily in disposing the Committee of Public Safety to favour

the American government, and his difficulties were the greater from the consideration, that the members of the committee being changed every three months, he was obliged to renew his efforts with the new members upon every change. The diplomatic section of the committee was composed alternately of Seyes, Reubell, Thuriot, Merlin, De Douay, and others, little disposed, as I must admit, in favour of the Americans.

It is proper to observe, that, at this epoch, the innumerable victories that were gained by the armies of France, over their powerful enemies, astonish the universe, and that the political situation of France left no doubt of the complete establishment of the republican system in that country. Holland, Spain, and the greater part of the dominions of the Emperor, were ready to fall into the hands of this growing republic, and all foreboded the influence which it would obtain, in the political balance. Mr. Monroe had then to treat with conquerors, who, proud of their success, adopted in their expressions and conduct, a fierceness which it is difficult to express. The negotiation, in consequence, was difficult for Mr. Monroe, who preserved always on his side, the dignity which became the representative of a great people. Nevertheless, the more brilliant the successes of France were, the more this Minister felt the necessity of conciliating their friendship and good offices.

All these difficulties were now removed, and Mr. Monroe began to enjoy, in peace, the fruits of his labours, when a question arose respecting the treaty of Mr. Jay, with the cabinet of London. This intelligence revived immediately the jealousy of the French government, who, without knowing the contents of the treaty, considered the act done as an outrage to France. The Committee of Public Safety expressed loudly its surprise to Mr. Monroe; who, on his side, not knowing the contents of the treaty, was obliged to confine himself for a long time, in assuring the members of the committee, that it was altogether improbable that the American government had committed any act which could alter the friendship which existed between France and the United States. But by the reasons which he urged to calm their spirits, it was impossible for him to succeed, and the members of the committee on this occasion, pushed their remarks to the point of manifesting

their distrust of Mr. Monroe himself. They appeared to be convinced that he knew the contents of the treaty, and had orders to conceal them.

It was about this period that I quitted Mr. Monroe, and I recollect that in the last conference at which I assisted, the members of the committee received the minister very coldly, and that the answer which they gave this time to his observations, was short and dry. It was Reubell who spoke, and he expressed himself to the following effect: "It will be useless (said he) citizen minister, for you to give yourself further trouble to persuade us, that the treaty made by Mr. Jay is not repugnant to the interest of France. We know perfectly on whom we ought to rely, respecting the disposition of the American government in regard to us, and you may abstain from entertaining us in future on the subject of that treaty. The only part which we have to act in this circumstance, is to be patient and not to be forgetful."

From this epoch, the coolness of the French government for the Americans augmented; and it is evident that the recall of Mr. Monroe, far from conciliating it and removing difficulties, had the effect only of putting the two governments at a greater distance from each other, to the injury of both nations, and of their commerce.

Such are the facts of which I have knowledge, and to the truth of which I can bear witness. There remains nothing for me to add; for I think that I have said enough to serve as an answer to the malevolent, who have persisted to blame the conduct and intentions of Mr. Monroe during his mission to the French government. I have thought it my duty to make this declaration, and I desire, with all my heart, that it may contribute to make known to the Americans in general, the great injustice that has been done to Mr. Monroe, by the imputations raised against him, and the depth of the malignity of his enemies.

M. A. GOUVAIN.

PARIS, 2d of April, 1797.

[After the intercourse of Mr. Monroe with the French government was suspended, he requested of Major Mountflorence, who had occasion to pass through the different offices of the govern-

ment daily, to collect what information he could of the views of the government towards the United States, and to report the same to him, which he did.]

LETTERS OF MAJOR MOUNTFLORENCE.

SIR:—I proposed doing myself the honour of waiting on you this morning in order to communicate what I have been able to collect respecting the forwarding of the orders to America, whereof you have been informed, but am prevented so doing by a very sore foot. Early this morning I was at the office, and find that the packet is made up, and remains in *statu quo*. Positive orders to fix its departure are not yet given, but the former ones are not rescinded. They propose to inform you officially of their purport only eight days after they shall be sent off. I shall be on the watch to gather any other information on that matter which I may be able to attain; but I hope that, whilst there is time for a reconsideration, that the measure may be laid aside, or other incidents may turn up, and reflections in the meanwhile may occur to the promoters of this plan which may induce them to think better of it.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, yours, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

9th Fructidor (Aug. 26th), 4th year.

Tuesday, 30th August.

SIR:—I saw a person last evening, who assured me he believed the despatches were gone. They are sent to America by an aviso, armed for that purpose, which has been ready for sea for some time past. The government pretends, that through you only they have been delayed, for near eight months, taking their measures, which they say are consistent with the dignity of their nation, and to the general plan they have adopted. They do not censure you for it; on the contrary, allow that you have well served your government, &c. &c. &c. It seems to me that their determination is

fixed, and nothing more is to be done than wait for events, which may induce them to adopt another system less prejudicial to the connexion between our two countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

9th Vendémiaire, 5th Year.

SIR:—I have seen General Clarke's commission. It is signed by the Minister Gennet, at Philadelphia, 12th July, 1793, and, therefore, posterior to the President's proclamation.

By this day's mail I have wrote to Mr. Le Ray, that it would be best for him to take passports from the government of Berne, duly legalized by Citizen Barthelemy, the French minister in Switzerland.

The person I had the honour to speak to you about yesterday, intimates an apprehension that they have it in contemplation to notify to you officially, that, having recalled their minister near the United States, they could no longer communicate officially with you. I hope, and I believe, that this apprehension is entirely groundless; as, in fact, if such an event was to take place, it would indicate a full determination to push matters to extremities, which I suppose it is the interest of both countries to avoid.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. EDWARDS TO MR. MONROE.

FRANKFORD, April 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR:—Of what related to your conduct about Mr. Paine's writing against General Washington, I mentioned to him since my return. He thanked me for the information, and added, that, as to Mr. Monroe, he believed him to be a man of honour, and always thought so.

Note[in original].—Dr. Edwards travelled at this period, through great part of England, and carried with him letters from General

Washington to some of his correspondents, and particularly to Arthur Young. Soon after the arrival of Mr. Monroe in France, he came over and staid most of his time in Paris near him, until late in 1796; when he returned home. He had acted as a volunteer in the campaign of 1777, after the enemy took possession of Philadelphia, and was, with Mr. Monroe, an aid in the family of Lord Stirling, particularly in the battle of Brandywine. His letter extends to many other instances in which Mr. M. was then traduced, of which it is now deemed unnecessary to take notice, and therefore, this extract alone is published.

THE COMMISSARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PARIS, 4th Fructidor, 2d Year of the Republic.

CITIZEN:—After having received the representatives of our ally, with the most distinguished marks of affection, the government of the republic desires to do everything which depends on it, to make his residence in France agreeable to him. With this view the Committee of Public Safety authorizes me to offer you, in the name of the republic, a national house for your accommodation. I pray you, therefore, to make known to me your intentions in this respect, as likewise to designate the quarter which will be most agreeable to you.

THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO THE COMMISSARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

PARIS, August 22, 1794.

CITIZEN:—I was favoured yesterday with yours of that date, informing me that the Committee of Public Safety had authorized you, in the name of the Republic, to appropriate a house for my use, as minister of their ally, the United States of America, and in such a part of the city as I should designate. I received this communication with peculiar satisfaction, because I consider it a

proof of the sincere regard which the Committee entertain for their ally, whose servant I am. Upon this occasion I am not permitted to indulge, in any respect, my own opinion or feelings. The Constitution of my country, an extract from which is hereto annexed, has prescribed a line of conduct for me, which it is my duty to follow.

The Committee of Public Safety and you, citizen, respect too highly the fundamental laws of your own country, not to approve my reason for declining the kind offer you have made me. I shall however immediately communicate it to my government, and doubt not, it will produce there the good effect it merits.

EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust, under them, shall without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatsoever, from any King, Prince or Foreign State.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY TO JAMES MONROE, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 14TH VENDÉMIAIRE, 2D YEAR OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

We hasten, citizen, to answer the letter which you addressed to us the 12th of this month, relative to the horses which you required for your use. Our answer is contained in the decree which we have adopted, and of which a copy is enclosed.

[Signed by the members of the Committee of Public Safety.]

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF THE DECREES OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY, 14TH OF VENDEMIAIRE, SECOND YEAR OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The Committee of Public Safety having seen the letter of James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America,

of the 12th of this month, decrees, that the commission of transports, posts and passengers, be hereby authorized to sell to the said James Monroe four horses, at the price fixed by the law, relative to *maximum*, and to liquidate with him the expense of the horses belonging to the Republic, which he has employed to the present day.

[Signed by the members of the Committee of Public Safety.]

AFFIDAVITS RESPECTING THE HOUSE AT PARIS, PURCHASED BY MR. MONROE FOR THE EMBASSY.

The undersigned hereby certifies and declares, that some short time after his arrival at Paris, in 1794, with, and a secretary to James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, he the said James Monroe did enter into the purchase, and occupancy, of a certain mansion house and pleasure ground, from one Mr. Foulon, and as the undersigned did then and does still believe, from the desire and intention often to the undersigned expressed, of offering the same as the fit and permanent residence, in future, of the United States' Ministers near the French government. The undersigned moreover declares that, during the whole of his long residence in Paris from an intimate intercourse on the subject with the said Monroe's agent, Daniel Parker, he was and continues under the belief that said Monroe must sustain a loss of one half of the amount for which the said house was sold on account of some lein, or defect, imposed on him, in the original titles.

Given under my hand writing and signature at Montesano, near Baton Rouge, this 12th day October, 1825.

FULWAR SKIPWITH.

CONSULAT AMERICAN.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and on the sixth day of August, personally appeared at the Consular General's Office of the United States of America, at Paris, before me James Cole Mountflorence, Chancellor to the aforesaid Consultee, and Notary Public duly sworn, Walter

Burling, Esq. and William W. Morris, Esq. both citizens of the United States, who being both sworn, depose and say that they have severally resided at Paris for a year past; that during such their residence, they have been in constant habits of intercourse with James Monroe, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near the French Republic; that they severally believe that the said James Monroe, during his residence in France has totally confined himself to his diplomatic functions, and that the said James Monroe has not been speculating in the lands or funds of this country, either directly or indirectly; that the said James Monroe has purchased a house, which he now occupies, and that it is the only property in France they know him to possess, and further these deponents say not.

W. BURLING.

Sworn to before me, WM. W. MORRIS.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

The undersigned having resided in France during the years 1796 and 1797, and having had the honour of being acquainted in the family of Mr. Monroe, the then Minister from the United States of America, near the French Republic, certifies that during the above mentioned period Mr. Monroe lived in a house which the undersigned knows he purchased with the intention and view of persuading the government of the United States to take it at what it cost, it being a suitable house for their Minister to occupy; that he frequently heard Mr. Monroe say he should offer it to the United States for that purpose; that Mr. Monroe purchased said house and grounds about it of an individual, and not of the nation, it being an unconfiscated patrimonial estate, and not a national domain; that the said minister when recalled, was under the necessity, before he could leave Paris; of selling said estate, which he did, and for a sum not much exceeding if any, the amount of the original purchase, with interest and repairs added thereto.

WILLIAM LEE.

BOSTON, February 5th, 1801.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON, ss.

On this fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, before me, William Stevenson, Notary Public, by legal authority admitted and sworn, and dwelling in Boston aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace for the county of Suffolk, personally came and appeared William Lee, and in due form of law made solemn oath to the truth of the annexed certificate by him subscribed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed [L.S.] my Notarial Seal, the day and year above written.

WILLIAM STEVENSON.
Notary Public and Justice Peace.

AFFIDAVIT OF GENERAL HULL, FEB. 13, 1801.

NEWTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, February 8th, 1801.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This may certify that I was in Paris in the year A.D. 1795, when Mr. Monroe was the Minister of the United States, near the French Republic. That sometime in the month of March, or the beginning of April, Mr. Monroe informed me that he had purchased an house, with a few acres of ground about it, and asked me to go with him and see it. I accordingly went and was much pleased with it. Mr. Monroe then observed that it was with reluctance that he made the purchase, as the payment was attended with some inconvenience to him; and that no consideration would have induced him to have done it, but that he considered it a suitable situation for the Minister of the United States, and that it was his intention, when he left France to offer it to the United States for that purpose. I likewise understood from Mr. Monroe, and a number of other gentlemen, that it was not a national estate, but was purchased from as individual. I was likewise informed by a number of gentlemen, that it was with difficulty they had persuaded Mr. Monroe to purchase the estate, and that he was finally influenced by the motive which I before stated, that it would be an advantage to the United States to have such a situation for the residence of their minister.

WILLIAM HULL.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, }
MIDDLESEX, ss. Feb. 9th, A.D. 1801. }

Personally appeared before me William Hull, Esq. a Major General in the militia of this commonwealth, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed.

WILLIAM HUNT,
Justice of the Peace.

BOSTON, 5th February, 1801.

JAMES MONROE, Esq.

SIR: Being informed that some reports have been circulated in your State reproaching your motives, and mistaking the circumstances attending the purchase of your mission house in Paris, I take the liberty of sending you the following certificate, under oath, which you are at liberty to make what use of you please.

I, the subscriber, hereby certify that I was in Paris at the time James Monroe, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, purchased the mansion house which he occupied during his stay in that country; that the said mansion house, and land purchased with it, were patrimonial estate, belonging to a private individual, and were not of the royal domains, or a part of any estate belonging to emigrants, or that had been confiscated on any account whatever.

I further certify, that said estate was sold to said Monroe at the same price that it had been offered to me, and which I refused, because I could purchase at that time, and did in fact, purchase other valuable estates in France on better terms. I well remember to have heard Mr. Monroe often say, that in case the United States should think fit to purchase a place of residence for their Minister at Paris, as they had done at The Hague, he should at all times be willing to sell them his estate at the price it cost him, but being recalled, without any authority to provide for the residence of a future Minister, he sold his estate for very little, if anything more than it had cost him.

BENJ. HICHBORN.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF BENEVOLENCE OF THE SECTION OF BONNÉ ROUGE, IN REPLY TO ONE FROM MR. MONROE.

PARIS, the 22d of Frimaire, 3d year of the Republic.

The Committee of Benevolence of the Section of Bonnét Rouge, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

CITIZEN :—The Committee of Benevolence, the organ of the numerous indigent of the section of the Bonné Rouge, to whom your letter has been sent, considers it a duty to communicate the satisfaction it has felt, and which it will feel, in distributing among this unfortunate class, the thousand livres which accompanied it.

It is a consoling balm for the unfortunate, and a particular joy for you and us to know the comfort which they will derive from it, in their deplorable state.

MONTESANO, October 10th, 1825.

DEAR SIR: Shortly after your late retirement from Washington, I was favoured by you with a copy of the report of the committee on your message to Congress, respecting your private transactions, which I have read with great interest and attention. Having been during the whole of your two missions to France, as privy to your private and public conduct as, I presume, any other individual whatever, I will, in compliance with your request, proceed to state, in relation to both, and on the special subjects of your inquiries, the most important facts which remain still strong within my recollection and firm belief.

Of the hundred, nay hundreds, of our countrymen claiming and suffering by the delay, or denial, of justice on the part of the French government, when I arrived with you in Paris, in 1794, all now living, I doubt not, would remember with me, that your predecessor, Mr. Morris, had from his imputed hostility to the French Revolution incurred so much the displeasure of that government, as to induce him to live very much secluded, generally in the country, and to attend to little else of public concerns, than granting passports, which were not much respected by the

French authorities. In this state of things, we found our numerous suffering fellow citizens vainly depending on their own exertions for redress, or on those of private agents, with little or no effects. When it fell to your more fortunate lot to be favourably received by the revolutionary government of France, as Mr. Morris's successor, those American claimants, no less than myself, must remember the extraordinary mass and press upon you, not only of their applications, but of those from most of the commercial ports of the United States and of Europe, which compelled you to employ other persons in aid of your Secretary, until the Consular establishment went into operation, and then, and during several years afterwards, the Consul (myself) was under the necessity of employing from three to five assistants. Nor can any man, an eye witness, in those days of the French Revolution, of the numerous forms, difficulties, and various Committees and authorities which you as the Minister, and myself the Consul, had to accommodate to, and transact business with, forget, how essential it was, in the advancement of the just rights, safety, and pecuniary claims of our countrymen, to open our houses, and to bestow all personal attentions in our power, to a continued succession and round of men, possessing power, or office, or influence. It is but justice to you to declare, also, that throughout all those Revolutionary scenes and trials, I knew no foreign Minister, or Consul, so constantly at his post, and so incessantly and successfully labouring with the French government to redress the wrongs, and to promote the lawful interests of the great mass of American citizens then in France, and elsewhere, appealing to her government for justice.

With every sentiment of respect and friendship

I remain dear sir,

FULWAR SKIPWITH.

Mr. MONROE

NEW YORK, 15th November, 1825.

SIR:—I am informed by Mr. Lee, that I might possibly communicate to you some circumstances which could be useful

relating to the occurrences connected with your first embassy to France. I arrived at Paris, and had the honour to be presented to you, in the latter part of the year 1795, or in the beginning of the year following. At that time Mr. Prepost, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Purviance, of Baltimore, and my deceased brother, were all employed and assiduously engaged in the business of your mission. There were then great numbers of our citizens in Paris, having claims on the French government, some for contracts made by its agents in this country, others for property sold at different seaports in France, to persons also employed by the same government; for which payment, in all cases, was sought for through your interference, which created a vast accumulation of correspondence with the different departments of the French government, and with the seaport towns, the last of which, of course, was a heavy contingent expense for postage. About the middle of this year (1796), my brother had a long and dangerous illness, and I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge once more my obligations to you and your family, for the attentions and assistance that were afforded him during a very long sickness, in a house which was hired by you for the legation; at this time I was employed in the business of your mission, and thus remained in your family until your return from Holland. From my intimacy with all the gentlemen before named, and from actual employment for a part of the time, I must of course have been a witness to the arduous duties which devolved upon you, and the consequent labour to the persons employed by you, and I do most unhesitatingly declare my opinion, that the contingent expenses of your mission, for that year, were unusually heavy.

I do not know whether anything I have written can be useful; but you will be pleased to receive it as an effort on my part, however feeble, in aid of your just claims; and as an evidence of the great respect I have for your public services at the time alluded to, as well as those of more recent occurrence.

I have the honour to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
M. GELSTON.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. MONROE AND MR. PAINE.

When Mr. Monroe arrived in France, in August, 1794, Mr. Paine was imprisoned in the Luxemburg, on which occasion the following correspondence took place between them. Mr. Paine had been arrested with Brissot and other members of that party, most of whom had been guillotined. This correspondence is very voluminous, but it is deemed unnecessary to publish more of it than the following extracts, which give a just view of his situation at that time. Mr. Monroe, though very anxious to obtain Mr. Paine's discharge, considered it his duty, in the then state of affairs, to be very circumspect in taking any measures in his favour. He had many interviews with members of the two great committees of the government, of "*Salut Publique*" and *Sûreté Generale*," before he made an official application for his release, and it was after the affair was thus informally arranged, that he addressed a note to the latter committee on the subject, a copy of which was enclosed to the Secretary of State, with his letter of Nov. 7th, 1794. The two committees met immediately, and passed an order for his release, which was sent to Mr. Monroe, at daylight the next morning. Mr. Monroe sent his secretary with it, to the Luxemburg, in obedience to which Mr. Paine was immediately discharged, and brought by his secretary to the house. Mr. Paine was destitute of everything, and in ill health, and Mr. Monroe took him to his house and accommodated him with lodging, money, clothes, etc. He lived with Mr. Monroe a year and a half, and when Mr. Monroe left France, Mr. Paine was indebted to him for money loaned, besides the other accommodations and expenses incurred on his account, about 250 louis, of which no part was ever paid.

LUXEMBURG, 29th Thermidor.

MY DEAR SIR:—As I believe none of the public papers have announced your name right, I am unable to address you by it—but a new Minister from America is joy to me, and will be so to every American in France.

Eight months I have been imprisoned, and I know not for what, except that the order says that I am a foreigner. The illness I

have suffered in this, and from which I am but just recovering, had nearly put an end to my existence; but life is of little value to me in this situation, though I have borne it with a firmness of patience and fortitude.

I enclose to you a copy of a letter, as well the translation as the original, which I sent to the convention, after the fall of the monster Robespierre; for I was determined not to write a line during the existence of his detestable influence. I sent also a copy to the Committee of Public Safety, but I have not heard anything respecting it.

I have now no expectation of delivery, but by your means. The gentleman who will present you this has been very friendly to me. Wishing you happiness in your appointment, I am, sir, yours affectionately,

THOMAS PAINE.

4th Year.

DEAR SIR:—I need not mention to you the happiness I received from the information you sent me by Mr. Beresford. I easily guess the persons you have conversed with, on the subject of my liberation: but matters, and even promises, that pass in conversation, are not quite so strictly attended to here, as in the country you came from.

I am not, my dear sir, impatient from anything in my disposition; but the state of my health requires liberty and a better air; and, besides this, the rules of the prison do not permit me, though I have all the indulgence the *concierge* can give, to procure the things necessary to my recovery, which is slow as to health. The room where I am lodged, is a ground floor level with the earth in the garden, and floored with brick, and so wet after every rain, that I cannot guard against taking colds, that continually check my recovery. If you could, without interfering with, or deranging the mode proposed for my liberation, inform the committee, that the state of my health requires liberty and air, it would be a good ground to hasten my liberation. I leave it entirely to you to arrange this matter.

Yours affectionately,

THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, September 18th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—I was favoured, soon after my arrival here, with several letters from you, and more recently with one in the character of a memorial, upon the subject of your confinement, and should have answered them at the time they were respectively written, had I not concluded you would have calculated, with certainty, on the deep interest I take in your welfare, and the pleasure with which I shall embrace every opportunity to serve you. I should still pursue the same course, and for reasons which must obviously occur, did I not find that you are disquieted with apprehensions, upon interesting points, and which justice to you and our country, equally forbid you should entertain. You mention, that you have been informed, that you are not considered an American citizen by the Americans: and that you have likewise heard, I had no instructions respecting you by the government. I doubt not, that the person who gave you the information meant well; but I suspect he did not even convey, accurately, his own ideas on the first point; for I presume the most anyone could say is, that you had become, likewise, a French citizen, which, by no means, deprives you of the rights of an American one. Even this, however, may be doubted—I mean the acquisition of citizenship here. I confess that you have said much, to shew that it has not been made. I really suspect this was all that gentleman who wrote you, and those Americans he heard speak on the subject meant. It becomes my duty, however, to declare to you, that I consider you an American citizen, and that you are considered, universally, in that character, by the people of America. As such, you are entitled to my attention; and so far as it can be given, consistently with those obligations which are mutual between every government, and even a transient passenger, you shall receive it.

The Congress have never decided upon the subject of citizenship, in a manner to regard the present case. By being with us through the revolution, you are of our country, as absolutely as if you had been born there; and you are no more of England, than every native of America is. This is the true doctrine in the present case, so far as it becomes complicated with any other consid-

eration. I have mentioned it, to make you easy upon the only point which could give you any disquietude.

It is necessary for me to tell you, how much all your countrymen, I speak of the great mass of the people, are interested in your welfare? They have not forgotten the history of their own revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they have passed--nor do they review its several stages, without reviving in their bosoms, a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and, I trust, will never stain, our national character. You are considered by them, not only as having rendered important services in our own revolution, but as being, upon a more extensive scale, the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate, in favour of the public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine, the Americans are not, nor can they be, indifferent.

Of the sense which the President has always entertained of your merits, and of his friendly dispositions towards you, you are too well assured, to require any declaration of it from me. That I forward his wishes in seeking your safety, is what I well know; and this will form an additional obligation on me, to perform what I should otherwise consider my duty.

You are, in my opinion, at present, menaced by no kind of danger. To liberate you will be the object of my endeavours, and as soon as possible. But you must, until that event shall be accomplished, bear your situation with patience and fortitude. You will likewise have the justice to recollect, that I am placed here upon a difficult theatre; many important objects to attend to, with few to consult. It becomes me, in pursuit of them, so to regulate my conduct in respect to each, as to the manner and the time, as will, in my judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the whole. With respect and esteem, consider me, personally, your friend,

JAMES MONROE.

THOMAS PAINE.

LUXEMBURG, 14th Vendémiaire, Oct'r 4th.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your very friendly and affectionate letter of the 18th of September, which I did not receive till this morning. It has relieved my mind from a load of disquietude. You will easily suppose, that if the information I received had been exact, my situation was without hope. I had, in that case, neither section, department, nor country to reclaim me—But this is not all; I felt a poignancy of grief, in having the least reason to suppose, that America had so soon forgotten me, who had never forgotten her.

Mr. Sabonidière directed me, in a note of yesterday, to write to the Convention. As I suppose this measure has been taken in concert with you, I have requested him to show you the letter, of which he will make a translation, to accompany the original.

If the letter I have written, be not covered with better authority than my own, it will have no effect; for they already know all that I can say. On what ground do they pretend to deprive America of the service of one of her citizens, without assigning a cause, or only the flimsy one of my being born in England? Gates, were he here, might be arrested on the same pretence, and he and Burgoyne be confounded together. I conclude, with thanking you again for your very friendly and affectionate letter.

I am, with great regard, yours,

THOMAS PAINE.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO MR. MONROE'S SECOND MISSION TO FRANCE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1803.

GOVERNOR MONROE:—

DEAR SIR:—I have but a moment to inform you, that the fever into which the Western mind is thrown by the affair at New Orleans, stimulated by the mercantile and generally the federal interest, threatens to overbear our peace. In this situation, we are obliged to call on you for a temporary sacrifice of yourself, to prevent this greatest of evils, in the present prosperous tide of

our affairs. I shall to-morrow nominate you to the Senate, for an extraordinary mission to France, and the circumstances are such, as to render it impossible to decline; because the whole public hope will be rested on you. I wish you to be either in Richmond or Albemarle, till you receive another letter from me, which will be within two days hence, if the Senate decide immediately; or later, according to the time they take to decide. In the meantime, pray work night and day, to arrange your affairs for a temporary absence—perhaps for a long one. Accept affectionate salutations.

TH. JEFFERSON.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. JEFFERSON TO COL. MONROE.

WASHINGTON, January 13th, 1803.

DEAR SIR,—I dropped you a line on the 10th, informing you of a nomination I had made of you to the Senate, and yesterday I enclosed you their approbation, not having then time to write. The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at New Orleans, is extreme. This in the Western country is natural, and grounded on operative motives. Remonstrances, memorials, &c., are now circulating through the whole of that country, and being signed by the body of the people. The measures which we have been pursuing, being invisible, do not satisfy their minds; something sensible, therefore, has become necessary, and indeed our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas, is a measure likely to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them. It was essential, then, to send a Minister Extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary power, first however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in frequent and full oral communication. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions as to the person. You possessed the unlimited confidence of the administration, and of the Western people, and were you to refuse to go, no other man can be found who does

this. All eyes are now fixed on you; and, were you to decline, the chagrin would be great, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed I know nothing which would produce such a shock; for on the event of this mission depend the future destinies of this Republic. If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, ensure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be far distant, it behoves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without however hastening it, and it may be necessary (on your failure on the continent) to cross the ground. We shall get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible, after the measures you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents, from the season, and other circumstances, serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature, by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped them with the evidences of her destination and their duty.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. TALLEYRAND TO MR. LIVINGSTON.

PARIS, 1 Germinal, 11 year (24th March, 1803).

SIR:—I see with pleasure by the last letters, of the French Legation to the United States, that the species of fermentation raised there on account of Louisiana, has been carried back, by the wisdom of your government, and the just confidence which it inspires, to that state of tranquility which is alone suited to discussions, and which, in the relations of sentiment and interest existing between the two people, cannot but conduct them to understand themselves, upon the simple difficulties of circumstances, and to bind more and more the bonds of their mutual union. I ought to own to you, sir, that, in the eclat which has been so lately given there to the affairs relating to Louisiana, it has been difficult to discover the ancient sentiments of attachment and confidence with which France has always endeavoured

to inspire the people of the United States, and who, from the first moment of their existence as an independent and sovereign nation, have always held their political relations with France above all other political relations.

How could the neighbourhood of France affect unfavourably the American people, either their commercial or political relations? Has the French Republic ever shown a desire to impede the prosperity of the United States, to lessen their influence, to weaken the means of their security, or oppose any obstacle to the progress of their commerce? Your government, sir, ought to be well persuaded that the First Consul bears to the American nation the same affection with which France has been at all times animated, and that he considers the new means which the possession of Louisiana affords to him of convincing the government and people of the United States of his friendly disposition towards them, in the number of advantages which ought to derive from its acquisition.

I shall, for the present moment, confine myself to this declaration, which ought to remove the inquietudes which you have expressed in your last letters. The subject is not established upon information sufficiently extensive to authorize a detailed explanation. In announcing to me, moreover, the approaching departure of Mr. Monroe, appointed Minister Extraordinary to discuss this subject, you give me to conclude that your government desires that this Minister be waited for and heard, that every matter, susceptible of contradiction, be completely and definitely discussed? In the meantime, sir, the First Consul charges me to assure your government, that, far from thinking that our new position in Louisiana could be an object of solicitude, or cause the least injury to the United States, he will receive the Minister Extraordinary whom the President sends to him, with the greatest pleasure, and that he hopes that his mission will terminate to the satisfaction of both nations.

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO MR. MONROE.

PARIS, 10th April, 1803.

DEAR SIR:—I congratulate you on your safe arrival. We have long and anxiously wished for you. God grant that your mission may answer yours and the public expectation. War may do something for us, nothing else would. I have paved the way for you, and if you would add to my memoirs an assurance that we were now in possession of New Orleans, we should do well; but I detain Mr. Bentalou, who is impatient to fly to the arms of his wife. I have apprised the Minister of your arrival, and told him you would be here on Tuesday or Wednesday. Present my compliments and Mrs. L's to Mrs. Monroe, and believe, dear sir,

Your friend, and humble servant,

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON.

To His Excellency JAS. MONROE.

A COPY OF THE EXTRACTS FROM COL. JOHN MERCER'S JOURNAL.

"Extracts from my journal, commencing on the 8th of March, 1803, the day on which I sailed from New York for France.

"April 8th, we arrived off Havre about two o'clock in the morning, twenty-nine days from Sandy Hook; two French pilots came on board at three.

"About one in the afternoon Mr. Monroe was received with very particular and marked attention. A salute was fired from the fort soon after his being at the hotel. In the course of the day he was waited upon by the General commanding at Havre, attended by officers, who expressed their satisfaction at his safe arrival. In the evening a guard of fifty soldiers was paraded before the hotel, and ordered to receive Mr. Monroe's directions; but upon his requesting that only two might be permitted to remain, which he should consider equally respectful, the others were marched off, and the two regularly relieved.

"8th. Finding it inconvenient on account of our baggage, &c. to proceed immediately to Paris, we remained at Havre this day.

In the evening the officers of the Navy waited upon Mr. Monroe to pay their respects to him, as did several Americans who were in this town.

"10th. We left Havre at ten o'clock in the morning, and arrived at St. Germain, within ten or twelve miles of Paris, at ten in the evening.

"12th. I arrived in Paris about one o'clock P.M. with Mr. Monroe, he leaving his family at St. Germain. Mr. Monroe immediately wrote a note to Mr. Livingston, the American Minister, informing him of his arrival, and of his intention to wait upon him in the evening if Mr. Livingston would be at home, and without company, as he, Mr. M., was much fatigued with his journey, and a little indisposed. In Mr. Livingston's answer, he congratulated Mr. M. upon his arrival—informed him he would be without company in the evening, and would be glad to see him, but if Mr. M. was too much indisposed to go out, he would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon him. Having letters for Mr. Livingston, Jr. from his friend Mr. Cutting, at New York, I accompanied Mr. Monroe in the evening, to the Minister's. None but the family were present. We were received in a friendly and polite manner. We had been seated only a few minutes when the conversation turned upon the state of things in America at our departure. In the course of it, Mr. Livingston asked 'What had become of Mr. Ross's resolutions?' Being answered by Mr. M. that they were superceded by others of a more pacific character, he said, 'I am sorry for it. I wish they had been adopted. Only force can give New Orleans to us"; and farther declared, that he believed nothing but the actual possession of the country by the Americans would give success to the mission in which he was associated with Mr. M. To this Mr. M. made no reply. Upon leaving Mr. L's I expressed my surprise at the opinion entertained by this gentleman and regretted that the prospect of peaceable result to the negotiation appeared to him so gloomy."

JOHN MERCER.

LETTER FROM MR. MONROE TO MR. TALLEYRAND.

PARIS, May 19, 1803.

SIR :— As some months will elapse before we can receive the decision and commands of our government, respecting the treaty and conventions which we have had the honour to conclude with Mr. Marbois, under your ministry, I consider it my duty to pursue, in the interval, the remaining objects of my mission, which are now to be adjusted with his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. With that view, I propose to set out, as soon as circumstances will permit, to Madrid, which I flatter myself will be practicable in the course of the next week. In the happy conclusion of our negotiation with your government, (a sentiment which I am persuaded will be always cherished, by both nations, of the result,) Mr. Marbois promised, on the part of the First Consul, his friendly intercession and support of our negotiation, with his Catholic Majesty, for such territory as he claims Eastward of the Mississippi. Permit me to invite your attention to that subject, and request that you will be so obliging as to furnish me such aid, either by instructions at the Court of Madrid, or in such other mode as may be thought most suitable to the character of the powers interested, be best calculated to promote success in the object desired, and manifest the very friendly disposition of the First Consul to the United States, of which I entertain the most perfect confidence.

I beg you to accept the assurance of my high consideration and esteem.

JAMES MONROE.

TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM COL. JAMES LEWIS.

ALBEMARLE, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE, October 12, 1826.

SIR :—In compliance with your request, that I would communicate the reasons which induced you to sell your land above Charlottesville, while you were in Europe, in your mission to France, I readily make you the following statement, which you will find substantially correct, and will correspond with the

report which I formerly made to you : but as my papers are in Tennessee, and having only my memory to assist me, I cannot go so minutely into the details as I could wish ; but should you deem it necessary, on my return, I will be able to give you an exact account of the quantity of land sold, the price it sold for, with every other information you may want, relative to the business I transacted for you, during your absence in Europe.

As soon as you were appointed, you informed me of it, and that you must sail immediately, and requested me to come to Richmond, as you intended to give me the charge of your estate in Albermarle during your absence. I complied with your request, and proceeded forthwith to Richmond, which, as well as my memory serves me, was in January or February, 1803. You appointed me your agent, with instructions and a power of attorney to act for you during your absence, with a power to sell a portion of your property to discharge your debts, should I at any time find it necessary to do so. You stated to me that you only could advance me a trifle, and actually did not advance me more than one hundred dollars, if so much, and assigned as a reason that the government had not made you such an allowance as would enable you to do it ; that you would be exposed to great expense in your mission, and would require all the money you could obtain to bear it. You expressed great concern at being compelled to depart in such haste, that you could not settle your private affairs, not make provision for any debts you might owe, but that you would not allow any person to whom you might be indebted, to suffer in your absence. I took charge of your estate, and was able to avoid a sale for about two years, within which time you were expected home ; but as you still continued abroad, and the proceeds of the farm not being able to meet all the demands, and it being uncertain at what time you might return, and some of your creditors being themselves pressed for money, I thought it best to advertise some of your property for sale. I accordingly advertised your large tract of land in Kentucky, and your land in this county that lay above Charlottesville. Not being able to get a bid for the Kentucky land, I was obliged to sell the tract of land above Charlottesville, which contained, as well as my memory

serves me, something like nine hundred and fifty acres, on which the University now stands, and which I sold for five or six dollars the acre. The amount, I am confident, did not exceed six dollars. At the time I sold that land, I conceived it to be worth more ; but being obliged to have a part in cash, for the payment of one of your debts, I could at that time do no better, and was acting, at the same time, agreeably to your instructions ; to make a sacrifice rather than let your creditors suffer. Had you been able, at that time, to have advanced me the sum of two thousand dollars, I am confident I could have made the creditors easy, and not been obliged to sell the land ; and perhaps a less sum than that would have been sufficient.

You also wish to know of me the difference in the price of the land that I sold, whereon the university is now fixed — that is, the difference in the present prices. Having not been here for some time, I can only state the present prices from information. I am told that an acre of land, which I sold to Wm. G. Garner, on the road near the Rotunda, would sell at this time for seven or eight hundred dollars, and perhaps more. I am also informed that John M. Perry sold to Col. Wm. Garth one hundred acres at one hundred dollars per acre ; that there have been sold other parts of the land, formerly yours, at eighty dollars per acre ; and the remotest parts of the tract have been sold, or would now command, forty dollars per acre. But, as to the present price of the land, you can get the most correct information from the people of Charlottesville and its vicinity.

I remain, with sentiments of respect, yours, &c.

JAS. LEWIS.

P. S. Should it be necessary, I am willing to qualify to the correctness of the above. My address is Franklin county, Winchester, Tennessee.

TO COL. JAMES MONROE:—ALBEMARLE.

MR. RINGGOLD'S DEPOSITION.

WASHINGTON, February 14, 1826.

When Mr. Monroe was appointed Secretary of the Department of War, in September, 1814, he appointed and selected me as

the clerk in that department to take charge, under him, of all the money transactions thereof. Upon entering on these duties, it was found that a large amount of drafts, which had been accepted by the late Secretary of War, were lying over under protest; and that drafts for immense amounts were hourly appearing, for the payment of which the Treasury was totally unable to furnish funds, except in depreciated Treasury notes. Mr. Campbell had resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Dallas had not been appointed to succeed him. The only alternative left for Mr. Monroe, in this disastrous state of the finances of the government, was loans, to be obtained by the Department of War, under the sanction of the President, if possible. By authority of Mr. Madison, the President, loans amounting to about five millions, were negotiated by Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of War, as will appear, reference being had to his correspondence, now on file in the Department of War, commencing with his letters of the 5th September, 1814, to General Bloomfield, and ending with a letter to Governor Shelby, dated 30th January, 1815.

In addition to these loans, Mr. Monroe borrowed large sums from the Banks of this District, simply by pledging the faith of the government to pay them, with legal interest, so soon as the Treasury was in a situation to furnish the funds. I do not at present recollect the amount of these last mentioned loans; they were upwards of a million of dollars; and thus the government saved 20 per cent. on these loans, that being the difference between the *par* and the depreciated value of the government securities, at that gloomy period of the war.

In the winter of 1814–15 (January, 1815), I think the Paymaster General received information, that his deputies had no funds in their hands to pay the troops of General Jackson, defending New Orleans. I made application to Mr. Dallas, by order of Mr. Monroe, for funds to be transmitted to New Orleans, to pay this army. It was totally out of Mr. Dallas's power to furnish a dollar. Application was then made to our District Banks, which we had before exhausted by loans: and refusals were received from all, with the exception of the Bank

of the Metropolis, and the Farmer's Bank of Georgetown. The presidents of these institutions furnished Mr. Monroe with $125,000 each; and Captain Knight, a deputy paymaster, was instantly dispatched with $250,000: and I have been informed, arrived in time to relieve the pressing wants of Jackson's gallant army, by paying the notes of these two little Banks *at par;* when the depreciated Treasury Notes of the government were refused throughout the country, by the creditors of the United States. And this loan was made on the bare word of Mr. Monroe, that the banks should be honourably paid, whenever the state of the Treasury would permit.

Another transaction of Mr. Monroe's, while Secretary of War, ought to be mentioned by me, as it places his disinterested patriotism in such colours, that to withhold it would be sheer injustice. In the year 1814, the Paymaster General was presented with a draft, from one of his deputies in the Northwestern army for $50,000, belonging (as my present recollection serves me) to the Miami Exporting Company, who had advanced the money in Ohio, for the amount thereof. Orders were given to William Whann, the cashier of the Bank of Columbia, to whom the draft was sent for collection, to protest and send it back instantly, if it was not promptly paid; and as Mr. Brent had no funds to meet it, except *depreciated Treasury Notes*, Whann was on the point of sending it back. Mr. Monroe, however, prevailed on him to write to the holders, that the draft had been paid, on Mr. Monroe's accepting, in his *private capacity*, a draft, drawn on him on short date, for $50,000, by the Paymaster General, and pledging his word that it should be paid when at maturity. I have, within a few days, endeavoured to find this draft in the War Department, but am informed it cannot now be found; but the bill-book now in the Department, records the draft accepted by Mr. Monroe. A short time after, another draft was presented under similar circumstances and with similar orders, and Mr. Monroe accepted under like responsibility in his private capacity. Mr. Whann is dead, but I have been informed that Mr. William Stewart, a clerk in the office of the Second Auditor, has heard him relate the facts, as above stated by me.

All which is respectfully submitted to the Committee on the claims of Mr. Monroe, in conformity to the letter of its chairman, dated February, 1816, requesting any information in possession, in relation to loans made by James Monroe, in 1814, 1815.

TENCH RINGGOLD.

These claims, as originally presented, were founded on his two missions—first to France, second to France, Spain, and Great Britain. From these missions Monroe returned burdened with debts whose consequences bore heavily on him through life ; debts which arose out of the heavy expenses necessarily involved in the discharge of his official duties during his prolonged service abroad.

In 1826 some return was made by Congress ; but no allowance was made for the extraordinary expenses to which he had been subjected, nor in compensation for the loans which he had made on his personal credit, while in the War Department, during the War of 1812, for the support of our military operations.

Monroe never accepted the amount granted by the Act of 1826 as a just reimbursement ; but he brought forward no claim until the moment of his final retirement to private life. Even then it was with reluctance that he endorsed the action of his fellow citizens of Albemarle, with whom he had so long resided and under whose eyes all his property in Virginia had been sold for the payment of the debts arising from his public services, when they petitioned Congress in his behalf. That body, by its action on March 2, 1831, made further reparation in recognition, as expressed in its own language, of the "public services, losses, and sacrifices" of James Monroe.

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